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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

OF

POLAND,

FROM THE

FOUNDATION of That MONARCHY,

TO THE

DEATH of *Auguſtus* II.

By M. L'Abbé *DES FONTAINES.*

Tranſlated from the Original *French.*

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TO THE
READER.

THE Author acquaints us in his Preface, that he has collected into the following Work, all the curious and authentic Particulars which have any material Relation to the Hiſtory of Poland; *and that he was unwilling to trouble the World with any circumſtantial Account of the fabulous Reigns of* Lech I. *and his Succeſſors, down to* Miecſlaus, *together with the Wars of the* Poles *with the* Czechites, *the* Roxolans, *and other barbarous Nations, who ſhrowd themſelves in the bleak Receſſes of their Foreſts, and are buried under the Ice and Snows of the Northern Regions, ſince the Particulars are not of ſuch a Nature as to excite any rational Curioſity, and would be as little productive of Inſtruction in the Military Art.*

He then informs us, that he has, in many Particulars, followed Dugloſſius, *a Canon of* Cracow, *who compoſed an Hiſtory of* Poland, *in* Latin, *which, tho' it be an excellent Work, in a Variety of Particulars, yet has ſeveral Defects, which our Author has endeavoured to rectify; and it is the Opinion of very competent Judges, that he has not been unſucceſs-*

ful in that Attempt. This, at leaſt, is certain, that a Vein of Candor and Impartiality is viſible through the Work. The Hiſtorical Events recorded in it, are related in a manly unaffected Style, and the Author ſeems to have been well verſed in that particular Narration which conſtitutes no inconſiderable Part of the Merit of a good Hiſtorian. Theſe Revolutions are likewiſe enliven'd with ſeveral agreeable Deſcriptions of Countries, and the Manners of their Inhabitants, with a Variety of other entertaining Particulars, which we need not enumerate, becauſe they will be obvious to every Perſon of Taſte.

It may be proper likewiſe to acquaint the Reader, that our French *Hiſtorian has frequently had recourſe to the celebrated* Thuanus, *for ſeveral material Particulars, which contribute not a little to the Embelliſhment of his Work.*

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

OF

POLAND, &c.

An Hiſtorical and Geographical Deſcription of that Kingdom.

THE Kingdom of *Poland* is compoſed of *Poland* properly ſo called, and which is divided into the upper and lower *Poland*, Royal *Pruſſia*, the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, and the Provinces of *Mazovia*, *Polachia*, Black *Ruſſia*, *Volhinia*, *Podolia*, the *Ukraine*, and ſome other ſmall Provinces. The *Baltick* Sea, *Samogitia*, *Livonia* and *Muſcovy* conſtitute its Northern Bounds. The Dominions of the *Ruſſian* Monarch, and Little *Tartary* form its Frontiers to the Eaſt. It is terminated on the South by *Moldavia*, and the Mountains of *Krapac*;

pac; and its Weſtern Limits are *Moravia*, *Sileſia* and the Territories of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*. It is extended 260 Leagues in Length, from Weſt to Eaſt, and comprehends 200 Leagues in Breadth from South to North.

Gneſna, which is a City in Great *Poland*, was formerly the Capital of the Kingdom, and is ſtill the Metropolitan City. Its Archbiſhop is the Head of the Republick during the continuance of any Interregnum; and his Power is ſo great, that he has frequently cauſed Kings themſelves to be dethroned.

Cracow, which is ſeated on the *Weiſſel*, is now conſidered as the Capital of the Kingdom, ſince the Sovereigns have fix'd their Reſidence in that City. The Royal Ornaments are depoſited there, and 'tis now the Place where the Kings are crowned.

The *Weiſſel*, the *Boriſthenes*, and the *Nieſter* are its principal Rivers. Commerce might eaſily flouriſh in that Country, ſince Nature has accommodated the Inhabitants with each Particular capable of facilitating Navigation and Traffic with *Europe* and *Aſia*; but theſe Advantages are diſregarded by them. The Gentry are devoted to Arms alone, and the Peaſants are a Race of miſerable and uninduſtrious People, who are cruſhed under the Yoke of their Lords, and have no Property that they can call their own.

Poland is not ſtrengthened by any fortified Cities, and every Place is intirely open and free. The *Poles* conſider Caſtles and Fortreſſes as ſo many Rocks on which their Independency would be wrecked, and as the tyrannical Inſtruments of ſome ambitious Perſon who would be ſollicitous to load them with Chains. *Kaminieck*, on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, is not conſiderable either for its Extent or Fortifications; and *Dantzick*, which

which is the ſtrongeſt City in *Poland*, is but moderately fortified.

The King, who is conſidered as the firſt Magiſtrate in the Republick, derives all his Authority from that of the Nation, and if he ſhould happen to abuſe the Power confided to him, and ſhould refuſe to conform to the Compact made between the People and himſelf at his Coronation, he would ſoon behold a potent Confederacy form'd againſt him for his Depoſition. He is incapable of making new Laws, raiſing Taxes, contracting Alliances, or declaring War without the Ratification of a Diet; nor can he even marry without the Permiſſion of the States. In a Word, the Prince is not authorized to coin Money, ſince this Prerogative is peculiar to the Republick. His Revenues amount to no more than a Million of Livres, but he only defrays the Expence of his Table; all other Charges are paid by the Republick.

The Senate is compoſed of the Clergy and the Nobility, for the Third State is not ſo much as known in *Poland*. The Grand Marſhal, the Marſhal of the Court, the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, and the Treaſurer are the firſt Senators. The Kingdom of *Poland* and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania* have equally all theſe Officers.

The Grand Marſhal is the ſupreme Judge of all Diſorders which, at any Time, happen in the Diets and the King's Houſhold. He impoſes Silence, and authorizes Freedom of Speech in the National Aſſemblies. He introduces Ambaſſadors, examines their Diſpatches, and conſigns their Apartments to them. He likewiſe eſtimates the Price of all Merchandiſe whatever.

The Marſhal of the Court, or the Deputy Marſhal, is his Subſtitute, and diſcharges all his Functions in his Abſence.

The Chancellor is intruſted with the Seals of the Kingdom, and even the Sovereign cannot compel him to affix them to any Decrees without the Privity and Approbation of the States. All civil Affairs, and thoſe which relate to the King's Domain are brought to his Tribunal. He is attentive to the Preſervation of the Laws and the Support of Liberty. He returns Anſwers, in the Diets, to the Miniſters of foreign Powers, and, if he happens to be an Eccleſiaſtic, he extends his Inſpection to the Secretaries, the Prieſts and Preachers at Court.

The Juriſdiction of the Vice-Chancellor is exerted only in the Abſence of the Grand Chancellor, but he is in Poſſeſſion of Seals as well as the other. Theſe two Great Poſts are alternately enjoyed by a ſpiritual and a temporal Lord.

The Money which belongs to the Republick is depoſited with the Treaſurer, who regulates the Revenues; and he ought to aſſiſt in all Contracts made by the King, and which have no Validity 'till they have been ſigned by this Officer.

Thoſe who compoſe the Senate, next in Station to theſe ten prime Officers of the Kingdom and the Grand Duchy, are the Biſhops, the Palatines, the Caſtellans, and ſome Staroſts, who preſerve the Rank annexed to the Dignity of their Biſhopricks, Palatinates, Caſtellanies and Staroſties.

A Palatine commands the Troops of the particular Province which is conſigned to his Government; he is the Preſident of the Nobility of his Palatinate, and his Juriſdiction extends to civil and criminal Affairs

The Caſtellans are the Lieutenants of the Palatines; and the Staroſts, or Captains, have much the

the ſame Rank. But tho' the Palatines generally precede the Caſtellans and the Staroſts, yet the Caſtellan of *Cracow*, is, by a peculiar Privilege, ſuperior to the Palatine of that City; and the Staroſt, or Captain General, of *Samogitia*, which is a vaſſal Province of the Republick of *Poland*, takes Place of ſeveral *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* Palatines.

The Clergy, who conſtitute the firſt Order of Men in the Kingdom, are rich and powerful; they poſſeſs more than 200000 Towns and ſeveral conſiderable Cities. The Power of the ſecular Clergy, is, however, ballanced by that of the Monks who invade the Privileges of the common Paſtors in a thouſand Inſtances, with Impunity, and cauſe themſelves to be dreaded and reſpected, in Conſequence of the Empire they have aſſumed over the Minds of a credulous People.

The Gentry compoſe the ſecond Order, and they poſſeſs Dignities and Employments, as well in the Kingdom as in the Grand Duchy, and in which they never permit Strangers or the Commonalty to have the leſt Participation. They are privileged to elect their Kings, and the Senators have involved themſelves in the greateſt Dangers, whenever they have diſcovered an Inclination to render themſelves Maſters of the Election.

When the Kingdom is threatned with any Irruption, the *Poſpolite*, or the whole Body of the Nobility, are armed and mount their Horſes. Beſides the Palatines of each Province, who appear at the Head of their reſpective Nobility, this Body is commanded by a General, even when the King himſelf is preſent. The Nobility who compoſe theſe Troops are very magnificent and couragious; they are covered in their March with the Skins of Tigers, Leopards and Panthers;

thers; their Horſes are full of Mettle, and their Furniture is very ſplendid; but the Gentlemen pay no extraordinary Obedience to the Orders of their Chiefs. They neglect, with Impunity, to aſſemble at the Place appointed by the Letters of Convocation, and when they happen not to be paid, which is generally the Caſe, they diſband themſelves without any previous Diſcharge. Their March is altogether as irregular; they commit a Thouſand Diſorders in the Kingdom, and as there are never any Suttlers in the *Poliſh* Army, and as no Care is taken to erect Magazines, they make no ſcruple to pillage wherever they come.

The Peaſants are in a ſlaviſh Subjection to the Gentry. They have no Property of their own, and all their Acquiſitions are made for their Maſters. They are indiſpenſably employed in the Culture of the Earth, and they live in an abſolute State of Servitude. They are incapable of engaging in any State of Life which would procure them their Freedom, without the Permiſſion of their Lords, and they are expoſed to all the Effects of the ill Diſpoſition of their Tyrants, who oppreſs them with Impunity.

The general Diets are uſually held either at *Warſaw*, or at *Grodno*, in the *Lithuanian* Palatinate of *Troki*. Theſe are always preceded by Dietines, or particular Aſſemblies of Palatinates, in which they chooſe their Nuncios, or Deputies for the general Aſſembly; and their ſeveral Inſtructions, with the Demands they are to form, in the Name of the Province, are regulated in theſe Dietines.

The King convokes the Diet by diſpatching Letters, which are called *Univerſalia*, to all the Palatinates; and yet the Nobility aſſembled in the Reign of *John Caſimir* the Second, without the

the Orders of that Prince, and the *Poliſh Poſpolite* marched into the *Ukraine*, in order to ſubdue the *Coſſacks*, contrary to his Approbation.

The Nuncios, who are elected in the Dietines, meet at the Place ſpecified by the Letters of Convocation, and ſeat themſelves in the Aſſembly, according to the Order and Dignity of the Palatinates which they repreſent. They afterwards proceed to the Election of a Marſhal of the Nuncios, who is alternately choſen out of the Lords of great and little *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

This Officer has a very extraordinary Power in the Diet. No Member whatever can ſpeak without his Permiſſion, and he is empowered to impoſe Silence on whom he pleaſes. He is the Organ of the Nobility, and tranſmits to the Senate and the Sovereign, all Complaints againſt exorbitant Proceedings, Abuſes in Government, and injurious Treatment of particular Perſons; he is attentive to the Protection and Safety of the Deputies, whoſe Chief he is conſtituted by his Office, and he puniſhes all Offences that are committed in the Aſſembly.

The general Diet for the Election of a King, is that wherein Strangers are intereſted the moſt. When an *Interregnum* has been declared, either in Conſequence of the Death, Abdication or Depoſition of the King, the Primate, who is then the Chief of the Republick, diſpatches his *Univerſalia* to the ſeveral Provinces, for a general Aſſembly. A Deputation of Senators is likewiſe ſent to the Army, to aſſiſt the Generals with their Counſels, and an exact Inventory is taken of the Treaſure of the Crown. All the Tribunals are then diſcontinued, and every Juriſdiction, except thoſe of the Marſhals, entirely ceaſes.

The Aſſembly is at laſt held near *Warſaw*, in the open Field, which is ſurrounded with Ditches and covered over with Boards. The *Poles* call it the *Szopa* or the *Colo*. On the Day fixed for opening the Diet, the Senators and the Nuncios are preſent at the Celebration of a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Church of St. *John* in *Warſaw*, after which they repair to the *Colo*, and when they have elected a Marſhal of the Nuncios, they form a Confederation or a Treaty, by which the Members of the Diet take an Oath not to ſeparate, till they have elected a King, and not to acknowledge any Candidate, if he has not been elected by their unanimous Approbation; nor render him any Act of Obedience, till he has ſworn to obſerve the *Pacta Conventa*, and the other Laws of the Kingdom.

When this Union has been formed, the Members enquire into the Exorbitances that have been committed in the Courſe of the laſt Reign; and tho' the Authority of the Prince be limited to very narrow Reſtrictions, and tho' the Jealouſy, which the Nation entertains of all Attempts againſt its Independency, prompts it to a ſcrupulous Examination of their Prince's Conduct, yet there are always ſome Points to be complain'd of, and reformed, at the Cloſe of every Reign; and the *Interregnum* proves a favourable Opportunity for the Correction of thoſe Abuſes. The Laws are reinſtated in their original Vigour, and new ones are likewiſe added; all Cuſtoms, that are inconſiſtent with the Immunities of the Nobility, are rectified. They likewiſe regulate the Adminiſtration of the State, and preſcribe to their future King, the Obſervance of thoſe Rules and Duties from which he is never permitted to deviate.

All

All Ambaſſadors are introduced by the Senators, and they addreſs the Aſſembly in *Latin*. The Preſident anſwers them in the Name of the Senate, and the Marſhal of the Nuncios on the Part of the Nobility.

It is incumbent on the Miniſters of the Candidates to let their Gold glitter as much as poſſible; they ought to give ſplendid Entertainments, which, beſides their Pomp, muſt be carried into Debauch; and nothing is more agreeable to the *Poles*, who are naturally magnificent, than Feaſts of this Nature. The Nobility are captivated, in a peculiar Manner, with the Attractions of *Hungarian* Wine, and infallibly declare in Favour of the Candidate who cauſes it to flow in the greateſt Profuſion.

The Confederates uſually take an Oath, not to attach themſelves to any particular Faction, and the Miniſters are prohibited from continuing at *Warſaw*, or forming any Cabals; but theſe Injunctions are always ill obſerved. The Ambaſſadors enter upon Intrigues, even in Publick; the Nobility receive their Preſents, ſell their own Suffrages with Impunity, and render the Throne venal, after their Infraction of the firſt Article of the Confederation. Theſe mercenary Gentlemen uſually conduct themſelves with very little Fidelity to the Candidate in whoſe Intereſt they pretend to be engaged, and if they have nothing more to receive, they immediately forget the Preſents they have already taken, and eſpouſe the Cauſe of a more wealthy Competitor, without the leaſt Heſitation.

This pretended Liberty therefore, from which the *Poles* would be thought to derive ſo much Glory, is no more than a Slave to Avidity. They ſacrifice their Privileges to Repaſts, or the Purſes of the Candidates. They have been ſeen

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to crouch under the inglorious Yoak of Foreigners, without making any Effort to ſupport the King they had elected, and they have abandon'd their Country as a Prey to the *Germans*, whom they conſtantly hated; and likewiſe to the *Ruſſians*, who were always a contemptible and conquered Enemy, in the Reigns of *Stephen Battori* and *John Sobieſki*.

When any Candidate has gained the Suffrages of all the Palatinates, he is declared to be the elected King, by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and is accordingly proclaimed, as ſuch, by the Marſhals of the Crown and Grand Duchy, in Conjunction with the Nuncios. An Oath is then exacted from the new Monarch, in Favour of the *Pacta Conventa*, and when he has ſworn to conform to the Regulations of the Diet, with Reference to the Exorbitances, and to obſerve all the other Laws of the Kingdom, they proceed to the Ceremonials of his Coronation.

Popery is the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the Prince himſelf is obliged to profeſs it. The Zeal of the *Poles* has always prevailed, with Relation to this Article, and all the Efforts made by the Advocates for the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, for the Introduction of a Proteſtant Prince on the Throne of *Poland*, have hitherto proved ineffectual. There are, however, great Numbers of *Chriſtians* of the *Greek* Church, as well as *Lutherans*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Socinians* in this Kingdom, and there are even *Pagans* to be found in the Receſſes of *Lithuania*. The People in general are more ſuperſtitious than devout, and they receive whatever is tranſmitted to them from *Rome*, with a blind Submiſſion, and without beſtowing the leaſt Examination on the Particulars.

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The Monks improve this ſtupid Credulity to their own Advantage: They frequently interfere in Affairs of State, and enrich themſelves by thoſe Means. The Jeſuits of *Leopold* in *Ruſſia* have a Cope entirely covered with Gold and precious Stones, in their Treaſury, but it is likewiſe ſo exceeding weighty, that the Prieſt is incapable of uſing it at Maſs. This Ornament alone is valued at Fifty Thouſand Crowns.

With Reſpect to the Manners and Diſpoſition of this Nation, the *Poles*, tho' they are naturally haughty and imperious, are yet ſufficiently qualified to return any polite Treatment they receive; and if a Stranger only tenders them the firſt Civilities, and is ſedulous to cultivate their Friendſhip, their Behaviour will always correſpond with his Advances, and they will be induſtrious to render him all the good Offices imaginable.

Magnificence is the Foible of the Nobility, and they ſacrifice all things to Scenes of Luxury. As they ſeldom behold any Perſon ſuperior to themſelves, in their own Country, and as they treat their Inferiors with an Air of abſolute Authority, they live in all the Splendor of Princes, while Fortune proves favourable to their Inclinations. Prodigality and Debauch are conſidered as Virtues by a martial Nobility, who are frequently precipitated into Extremes, by Independence and Impunity. Arms are their only Occupation; they diſcover but little Curioſity to cultivate the polite Arts, and their Commerce is tranſacted among them by none but Strangers. In a Word, the *Poles* are only ſollicitous to diſtinguiſh themſelves in War, to defend their Frontiers, and to be vigilant over the Conduct of their Kings, ſince they think it degrading to indulge themſelves in any other Atten-

Attentions. As an Air of Sincerity is diffuſed thro' all their Conduct, their Friendſhips are conſtant, but they are eaſily rendered the Dupes of their Enemies. As they are very diſintereſted in their Deſires, they ſeldom amaſs great Riches, and frequently diſſipate their Patrimony. If they are, at any Time, reduced to a melancholy State of Indigence, they borrow without any Intention of making a proper Reſtitution, and they think themſelves privileged to diſpoſe of the Property of others with the ſame Prodigality in which they waſte their own. They appear ſerene and undiſturb'd amidſt the greateſt Calamities, and behold the Miſeries of their Friends and Countrymen, and neareſt Relations, with ſuch an Aſpect of Indifference as is equal to the Inſenſibility with which they ſupport their own Misfortunes. They are naturally couragious and intrepid, they habituate themſelves to all Sorts of Fatigue; and would indeed be invincible, if they paid a due Reſpect to their Chiefs. This is the general Character of the *Poles*, whoſe Hiſtory I have undertaken to write.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Poles*, like the generality of other Nations whoſe Origin is unknown, have ſought for illuſtrious Anceſtors in the remoteſt Antiquity, and if we may credit their own Hiſtorians, their firſt Prince was a Deſcendent from *Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*. They give him the Name of *Lechi*, and declare that he came from *Dalmatia*. This Prince left his Throne to his Son *Wiſſimir*, who founded the City of *Dantzick*. We diſcover no Traces in Hiſtory, of any Actions that were performed by the Poſterity of theſe two firſt Kings of *Poland*, and it is a Void which Fiction it ſelf has never attempted to fill up. It only ſuppoſes, that the Nation, after the Extinction of the Royal Family, aſſembled for the Election of new Maſters. The Nobility were on the Point of proceeding to this Choice, when the People, who had long been harraſſed with the Tyranny of their laſt Kings, demanded an Abolition of the regal Government, that they might no longer depend on the Caprice of one Man.

The great Lords, who were allured with the Hopes of ſharing all the Honours of Dominion, were eaſily induced to comply with the Sollicitations of the People; in Conſequence of which they eſtabliſhed a Republick, the Adminiſtration whereof was intruſted with Twelve Palatines; but the unſteady People were ſoon diſſatisfied

with

with this new Plan of Government; an Anarchy full of Diſorder and Confuſion inſpired them with an Averſion to their State of Independence, and a Set of Enemies, who were always ready to derive Advantages from the Troubles of the State, and the Conjunctures of thoſe Times, ravaged the Provinces with Impunity, and made this Nation pay very dear for the fatal Liberty they had acquired.

The Eyes of the People were at laſt open'd to their real Intereſt, and they judged it would be moſt advantageous to them to have but one Maſter. This Conſideration induced them to turn their Thoughts to the Election of a King, but a Choice of this Nature was attended with great Difficulties. The State of their Affairs required ſome martial Spirit to repel the Invaſions of the neighbouring People, as well as to re-conquer the Territories that had been wreſted from them by Uſurpations, and to re-eſtabliſh the Honour of the Nation. It was likewiſe neceſſary for this Hero to temper an Intrepidity of Mind, with the Softneſs of a prudent Charity, in Order to gain upon thoſe Diſpoſitions that had been rendred intractable by a long State of Independence, and it was alſo thought requiſite, that the Virtue of this future Prince ſhould afford them a ſufficient Security for his proper Uſe of that ſupreme Power with which they had an Inclination to intruſt him.

Theſe Qualities are ſeldom united in one Man; the *Poles* however found one of their Countrymen who poſſeſs'd them in an equal Degree. *Grack* was the Name of this virtuous Perſon, who brought the Calamities of *Poland* to a happy Period. As he was always victorious in the Wars he undertook, and as he likewiſe guided the Reins of Government with a conſummate Prudence,

dence, he conſtantly rendred himſelf dear to his People, and formidable to his Enemies. He built the City of *Cracow* on the *Weiſſel*, and *Bohemia* ſubmitted to the Laws of ſo accompliſh'd a Prince*.

Lech the Second became his Succeſſor, in Conſequence of a Crime, for he ſecretly deſtroy'd *Grack*, his Elder Brother, and aſcended his Father's Throne, as well by the Choice of the Nobility, as by Virtue of the Right he claimed to the Succeſſion. All his Subjects ſubmitted to his Authority, while his Crime was undiſcover'd; but as ſoon as it happen'd to be detected, the Lords would no longer ſuffer the Aſſaſſin of his own Brother to ſit upon the Throne he had uſurped, and to graſp the Reins of Government with thoſe Hands that were polluted with the Blood of their lawful Prince. He was chaſed from the Kingdom in a degrading Manner, and, according to ſome Authors, died without leaving any Children, at the ſame Time that he was detected by his Subjects, and wounded by the Remorſe of his own Conſcience.

After the Death of the Two Sons of *Grack* the Firſt, the *Poles* were deſirous of ſubmitting to the Government of his Daughter *Vanda*, a very amiable Princeſs, and who was graced with the Accompliſhments of Eloquence, Wiſdom and Courage, to a Degree that was altogether uncommon in her Sex. She reigned with Glory, and amidſt the Tranquillity of a profound Peace, when a neighbouring Prince ſent Ambaſſadors to

* His Reign is thought to be coincident with the Beginning of the 7th Century. *Dugloſſius* declares, Lib. i. *Habet nonnullorum aſſertio Græcum principem ante incarnationem Chriſti annis circiter quadringentis regnare apud Polonorum gentem cæpiſſe.* But if he reigned 400 Years before the Incarnation, what a Void will be open'd between his Reign and that of *Miecſlaus* the Firſt!

her

her to treat of a Marriage between himſelf an
her, and to denounce War againſt her Dominions
if ſhe ſhould happen to reject his Offers. *Vanda*
according to ſome Hiſtorians, had render'd her
ſelf incapable of the nuptial State, by a Vow
Virginity which ſhe had made to the Gods of h
Country. She therefore, prepared for Wa
aſſembled her Troops, animated them by h
Preſence and Diſcourſe; broke the Meaſures
her Enemy, oppoſed his Incurſions, and co
ſtrained him, at laſt, to come to a Conferenc
What can be impracticable to Beauty in Conjun
tion with Eloquence? *Vanda* was ſoon render'
victorious by the ſole Aid of her Charms; Sh
enchanted the hoſtile Troops in a Moment; th
Commanders refuſed to combat againſt ſo amiab
a Princeſs; the Soldiers quitted their Ranks, th
moſt Savage among them were diſarmed of all the
Rage, their Chief himſelf was forſaken by all h
Troops, he yielded to the Impreſſions of Confu
ſion and Deſpair, and plunged his Sword into h
own Breaſt, as a Puniſhment for his Temerity.

The Princeſs was eaſily induced to pardon th
Foes ſhe had vanquiſhed in that manner, and
ſhe was ſatisfied with ſecuring the Repoſe of h
Subjects, ſhe repaired to *Cracow*, to receiv
their Applauſe in that City, where they decree
her the Honour of a Triumph, for the Victo
ſhe had acquired by her Charms and Wit, and
which her Soldiers could not pretend to any pa
ticipation. 'Tis Pity this Princeſs ſhould becon
an Enthuſiaſt after this great Event; but ſhe co
ſidered it as an Evidence of the Favour of her tut
lar Gods, and imagined it was incumbent on he
to teſtify her Gratitude by a ſtrange Sacrifice,
which ſhe herſelf was the Victim. In a Wor
ſhe threw herſelf into the *Weiſſel*.

A Death ſo tragical as this, left the *Poles* a f

cond time deſtitute of a Maſter, and they had then n Inclination to enjoy the Sweets of Independency. Tho' Liberty had already proved ſo fatal to them, they were allured by the Pleaſures they propoſed to enjoy, by changing their State, and they reſumed the Republican Form of Government. *Poland* was then divided into twelve Palatinates, the Adminiſtration of which was committed to the ſame Number of Lords, who were choſen to diſpence Juſtice to the People, and to defend them againſt the Enemies of their State. This ancient Order ſtill ſubſiſts among them, and the *Palatines* have to this Day, a Power, under their Kings, almoſt equal to that which they enjoyed at the time of their firſt Inſtitution.

This new Change was productive of new Calamities, and the *Poliſh* Arms were not very proſperous under the Conduct of the *Palatines*. The Republick was deſtitute of Force and Troops; and ſeem'd in Danger of being overwhelmed by the Enemies that ſurrounded it. One Man alone had the Addreſs and Courage to rectify theſe diſorders and to raiſe the State to its ancient Glory. *Premiſlaus*, or *Leſzko* the firſt, a private Soldier, and one whom an Intrepidity of Mind, in Conunction with a long Series of experience, had exalted above his natural Condition, was the Deliverer of his Country. This brave Man having obſerved, that the Enemies, who imagined they had nothing more to conquer, kept but a very ſlender Guard in their Camp, drew together ſome of his Friends, repreſented their Calamities to them in a lively manner, acquainting them, at the ſame time, with the Security into which their Enemies were ſunk, and the Facility of gaining a compleat Victory over them; and he engaged them to be his Companions in an Enterprize that was rendred happy by a laudable Temerity. He

divided his Troop into ſeveral ſmall Bodies, after which he choſe a dark Night for the Execution of his Deſign, and the Horrors of the gloom being intermixed with the Confuſion uſually created by Surpriſals of this Nature, the Enemies were ſiezed with Conſternation, and multitudes periſhed by the Valour of the Aſſailants. All his Attacks ſucceeded to his Wiſh; he broke into their Camp from ſeveral Quarters, and the whole was a Scene of Flight and Slaughter. A rich Booty was the firſt Reward of this heroic Action; *Premiſlaus* was afterwards crown'd, and the People were contented to own their Deliverer for their Maſter.

The Valour alone of *Premiſlaus* had advanced him to the Throne; but Fortune prepared him a Succeſſor. This Prince dying without Iſſue, ſeveral Lords equally aſpired to the Supreme Power, and, in Conſequence of their Cabals, form'd different Parties, whoſe mutual Animoſities threatned the Nation with a civil War. The *Poles*, in order to prevent this Calamity, aſſembled together, and unanimouſly agreed to acknowledge him for their Prince, who ſhould ſurpaſs all his Competitors in the ſwiftneſs of his Horſes. They fixed on this Expedient as the moſt effectual for the prevention of Fraud, notwithſtanding which, a *Poliſh* Lord, named *Leſzek*, entertain'd Hopes of rendring his Ambition ſucceſsful by the Aid of Art. With this View he cauſed ſeveral Iron Spikes to be privately ſcatter'd over the Field where the Race was to be performed, and only reſerved a clear Path for himſelf, which he had made diſtinguiſhable by ſome particular Marks. This fraudulent Deſign was rendred ineffectual by a meer circumſtance of Chance, and the Stratagem was diſcovered by a young Man, whoſe great Qualities were obſcured by the Meanneſs of his Birth and Profeſſion. The Youth, however,

did

did not immediately divulge what he had diſcovered, either through Fear of ill Treatment, or in Hopes of deriving ſome advantageous Conſequence from it.

The Day appointed for the Race at laſt arrived, but who can expreſs the Aſtoniſhment of all the Aſſembly, or rather of the whole Nation, when they beheld all the Competitors remain Motionleſs in the midſt of their Career, or thrown into the Duſt by their Horſes, while *Leſzeck* alone launched with Velocity to the Pillar that ſerved as a Boundary to the Courſe, and to which he arrived in a few Moments? The People had already proclaim'd him for their King, when the unknown Youth, who had diſcovered the Artifice, and advanced to the Barrier, ſoon after *Leſzeck*, had the Courage to conteſt his Pretenſions with him, by diſcloſing the Fraud. The Proof of the diſhonourable Expedient practiſed by the *Poliſh* Lord, being render'd evident, all his Rivals over whom he had triumphed, roſe againſt him with an Air of Indignation; the exaſperated People condemned him to die on the Spot, and by the Effect of a ſtrange Caprice, which however was worthy of a confuſed Multitude, they immediately crowned the Informer.

The *Poles* were happy under the Government of this new Prince, to whom they gave the Appellation of *Leſzko* the Second, a Name then common among this People. He repelled the Enemies of the State, and carried the War into the Heart of their Country. The *Bohemians* and *Moravians* were made ſenſible of the proſperity that attended his Arms, and he was either fear'd or reſpected by all the neighbouring Nations. He was not only a Warriour, but likewiſe poſſeſſed all the Vertues of a great Prince. Merit was always rewarded in his Reign; he approved himſelf the

Father and Protector of his People, and never ſuffer'd his original Condition to be eraſed from his Remembrance.

In Order to ſecure himſelf from all Impreſſions of Pride, he cauſed the deſpicable Habit he wore, before the *Poles* array'd him with the Royal Purple, to be conſtantly carried before him in all publick Ceremonials.

Some Authors have thought that *Leſzko* the Second was defeated by *Charlemain*, and that he loſt his Life in a Combat with one of the Sons of that Emperor. But however that Fact may be, he was ſucceeded by his Son *Leſzko* the third, who ſupported by his Vertue, his own Reputation, and that of his Father. When he had conquer'd a Band of Rebels, who made an Inſurrection in *Poland*, he aſſiſted his Neighbours who were invaded by the Greeks; and the Succours he afforded them were ſo powerful, that *Pannonia* was indebted to him for the Liberty it afterwards enjoyed. This Prince had only one legitimate Son, named *Popiel*; but a great number of natural ones, whom he inveſted with the Sovereignty of ſeveral Provinces, which they were to hold as Homagers to the Crown of *Poland*, and to their Brother, who aſcended the Throne after his Death, by the unanimous Conſent of the Nobility.

Popiel the firſt was a pacific Prince, and deſtitute of all Ambition. He never had Recourſe to Arms, but with a View to defend his Frontiers: he confined himſelf to the Adminiſtration of the interior parts of his Kingdom, and only made War, in Order to procure Peace, and enjoy a Repoſe to which he was naturally devoted. He transfer'd the Seat of his Empire, from *Cracow* to *Gneſna*, and from this laſt City to *Cruſvicia* which he had newly founded, and which at preſent is only known by its ancient Reputation.

The

The Minority of his Son *Popiel* the Second was paſt without any Commotions, by Vertue of the prudent Adminiſtration of the Unkles of the young Prince. But they received a very unſuitable Compenſation for their Services, and were treated with the baſeſt Ingratitude by their Sovereign, when he enter'd upon his Majority. He was born with a malignant Diſpoſition, which happen'd to be unfortunately cheriſhed by the Artifices of an ambitious Woman. She left nothing unattempted to remove his Unkles from him, and at laſt reſolved on their Deſtruction. "How "long, ſaid ſhe to *Popiel*, did you intend to continue under the Tuition of your Unkles? Will "you always ſuffer them to be Maſters of your "Perſon and all Publick Affairs; and while their "Steps are continually tending to the Throne, "will you take no meaſures to defeat their Ambition? They are ſollicitous to deprive you of "your Crown, and all their Services are calculated to that Effect. Should they even conſent "to ſpare your Perſon, you ought to tremble for "our Children. Be prevailed upon then, to ſacrifice theſe perfidious Men to your own Safety, "and conſider that you ought to dread the Conduct in which they are all capable of engaging. The weak and voluptuous Prince ſuffer'd himſelf to be the more eaſily wrought upon by theſe Inſinuations, becauſe the Remonſtrances he had received from his Unkles, on the Subject of his unmanly Behaviour, became inſupportable to him. He pretended therefore, to be indiſpoſed, and, under the pretext of engaging their Attendance at Court, inhumanly cauſed a Poiſon'd Cup, which he had prepared for that purpoſe, to be preſented to each of them at a Banquet.

Popiel endeavoured to palliate this deteſtable Action, by creating a Belief that he had only prevented their pernicious Deſigns, and extinguiſhed a formidable Conſpiracy, which they had formed againſt his Life and Crown. He even refuſed to permit the laſt Offices to be render'd them, and extended his Inhumanity beyond Death it Self. But theſe disfigured Remains of his Unkles produced the juſt Avengers of his Crimes. An Army of Rats, if we may credit ſome Hiſtorians, roſe from the Putrefaction of the dead Bodies, and marched to the very Throne, in order to execute the Juſtice of Heaven on *Popiel* and his Conſort, and Children, and it was impoſſible to chaſe them away, either by Arms, or Fire, or Water. In a Word the whole Royal Family became the prey of theſe avenging Animals.

The Subjects of *Popiel* were likewiſe puniſhed for his Offence, and this ſeems not to be ſo fabulous as the other Account. After the Death of this wicked Prince, *Poland*, being deſtitute of a Chief, became the Theatre of a moſt cruel War. Rapine, and Murder, Devaſtations by Fire, and all other Hoſtilities were either permitted, or not puniſhed in thoſe calamitous Times. The Nobility, diſunited among themſelves, equally contributed to the Deſtruction of the State, by their Diviſions. Different Factions were daily promoted, and the weakeſt became a prey to the moſt potent. The Enemies of that Nation improved theſe Diſorders to their own Advantage, and ſoon appear'd in the Field, with a Reſolution to cruſh the the victorious as well as the vanquiſhed.

The Nobility were more affected with the Apprehenſions of a foreign War; than they were with all the Horrors of their Civil Commotions. A Regard to the general Welfare reunited them againſt the common Enemy, and extinguiſhed their particular

ticular Diviſions. But the State of Affairs at that time required a Prince capable of making his authority reſpected, in Order to aſſociate theſe Chiefs, who were independent of one another, and who were equally ambitious to command the Army. Several Aſſemblies were held for the Election of a Sovereign, but they had always proved ineffectual.

The Deputies of the Nation had aſſembled at *Cruſvicia*, for a conſiderable time, without being able to agree in their Choice of a Prince. The great number of People, whom the Election had drawn together in that City, created ſuch a Scarcity of Proviſions, that the Lords themſelves were left deſtitute of a Supply. In this extream Neceſſity, two Angels, according to the credulous Hiſtorian *, came to *Cracow* in human Forms, and lodged with a Perſon named *Piaſt*, the moſt charitable and juſt Man of all the *Poles*. He had nothing left, but a ſmall Caſk of Liquor that was very common in that Country; and this he preſented to his new Gueſts, who, in order to requite him for his Hoſpitality, promiſed him the Crown of *Poland*, and by a Miracle which they wrought in his preſence, aſſured him of the ſpeedy performance of that promiſe. They ordered him to diſtribute the Liquor to all thoſe who ſhould happen to deſire it. He accordingly complied, and the Citizens of *Cruſvicia* found an inexhauſtible Source of Liquor in a little Veſſel.

The Electors were all unanimous in their Suffrages, for a Man in whoſe Favour Heaven had wrought ſuch a Prodigy. *Piaſt* was taken from his Cot, in order to be raiſed to the Throne, and tho' he declined the Honour that was offered him,

* *Dugloſſus* a Canon of *Cracow*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Poland* in *Latin*.

the *Poles* with one Voice acknowledged him for their Prince. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Semovit* who reigned 32 Years. After his Death, the Nobility confer'd the Regal Dignity on his Son *Lezko*, tho' a Minor. This Prince never performed any illuſtrious Action, and he was ſucceeded by his Son *Zemomyſle*, or *Semomyſlaus*.



THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND.*

BOOK I.

THE Northern Nations had already begun to embrace Chriſtianity; *Sclavonia* and *Bohemia* had, for ſome time, renounced the Errors of Paganiſm, and *Poland* was converted by a pious Princeſs. *Dabrowka* the Daughter of *Boleſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, was the Perſon by whoſe Miniſtration God accompliſhed this Work. This Lady was determined not to eſpouſe *Miecſlaus*, unleſs he would conſent to be baptized. The Prince cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed in the Truths of her Religion, and when declared himſelf a Chriſtian, he was

Miecſlaus Duke of *Poland.* 965.

The Poles embrace Chriſtianity.

was deſirous that his People ſhould imitate his Example. With this View he became their Apoſtle; all the Idols were deſtroyed, and Temples were erected to the true God, on the Ruins of their Altars.

997 *Miecſlaus*, ſome time after his Converſion, ſent the Archbiſhop of *Cracow* to *Rome*, to aſſure the Pope of his Obedience, and to demand from him a Donation of the Regal Crown; but *Benedict* VII. gave the preference to *Stephen* Duke of *Hungary*, by whom he had been equally ſolicited for the ſame Gift. This Conduct of the Pope either ſprung from ſome prejudice he had entertained againſt *Miecſlaus*, or perhaps he had already heard of the Death of that Prince.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Boleſlaus*, who was advanced to Years of Maturity when he aſcended the Throne. His Courage was never abated by any Difficulties, and the ſevereſt Toils of War conſtituted his Pleaſures. He had the Abilities of a Chief and a Soldier, and knew how to command and execute at the ſame time. He appeared magnificent in Publick, and whenever it was requiſite for him to aſſume the Air of a great Prince; his more private Conduct was ſoften'd with an Air of Affability, and he beheld himſelf reſpected and beloved by his People, whom he treated more like a Father than a Sovereign. His Renown was ſo great, that *Otho* the third came into *Poland*, as well to offer him his Alliance, as to accompliſh a Vow he had made to the Martyr St. *Adelbert*, or *Albert*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*. The Emperor was ſo well ſatisfied with his Reception, and likewiſe with the Magnificence of *Boleſlaus*, that he thought it incumbent on him to teſtify his Acknowledgements to him by ſome honourable Return, that might correſpond with the

Boleſlaus Chabry, or the Great 1ſt King of *Poland*. 999

Treatment

Treatment he had received in the Territories of this Prince. He accordingly Crowned him King of *Poland*, and gave him the imperial Eagle, in a Field Gules, for his Arms. The two Princes afterwards confirmed their new Alliance, by the Marriage of *Rixa*, or *Riſche*, Daughter of *Godfrey*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Niece of the Emperor, with *Miecſlaus* the Son of *Boleſlaus*.

The *Bohemians* could not, without Jealouſy, behold the new Degree of Elevation, which the King of *Poland* had acquired, and as they thought themſelves not inferior to the *Poles*, they imagined the Glory of that Kingdom was a Stain in that of their own; to efface which they inconſiderately engaged their Duke *Boleſlaus* in a War, which proved fatal to him. The Duke of *Bohemia* enter'd *Poland*, without having any juſt pretext for Complaint, and carried the Devaſtations of Fire and Sword thro' all thoſe Places into which he was capable of penetrating. An Invaſion ſo unexpected and unjuſt, merited a ſpeedy Revenge, and yet the King thought it proper to ſuſpend it, at that time, and to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bohemia*, to know his Motives for ſuch a ſudden Infraction of the Peace. A Truce was agreed to, but this the *Bohemians* ſoon broke, and enter'd *Poland* a ſecond time, where they repeated their former Ravages. The King took to Horſe at this Intelligence, and marched againſt them, but they were too much intimidated to wait his Arrival. They no ſooner heard of his approach, but they had Recourſe to Flight, and they retired into their own Country, with their Booty, and a great Number of Priſoners. The War with *Bohemia*. 1002.

The King did not think it expedient to purſue them, either becauſe he wanted Proviſions, or elſe on Account of the bad Seaſon, but his Revenge

venge was not the leſs effectual by being deferr'd. When he had compleated all his Preparations, he placed himſelf at the Head of a gallant Army, and advanced into *Bohemia*, with an Intention either to conquer it or make it his Grave. The Enemy wanted Reſolution to confront ſo formidable a Power, and they left him Maſter of the Field; neither the Ravages, which were committed by the *Poliſh* Troops, nor the Conqueſt and Deſtruction of their Cities, could induce them to hazard an Engagement. *Prague* was taken after a Siege of two Years, and abandon'd to Plunder. Every Place yielded to this victorious Prince, but he thought he could not properly repute himſelf Maſter of *Bohemia*, 'till he had the Duke in his Power. This Prince had ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Wiſſigrod*, with his Son *Jaromir*, and was there determined to ſuſtain all the Efforts of the King. This Place was ſoon inveſted, and as the War was to be decided by the Event of that Siege, it proved a powerful Motive to a vigorous Aſſault, and an equal but unavailing Reſiſtance. The beſieged were compelled to yield to the Fortune of the *Poliſh* Arms; the Place was carried, and the Duke with his Son were made Priſoners of War. The Conqueſt of *Moravia* ſucceeded that of *Bohemia*, and the King's Tenderneſs to the vanquiſhed People confirmed to him the Acquiſitions of his Valour.

The Victories of Boleſlaus, and the Conqueſt of Bohemia and Moravia.

The Generoſity of his Mind and his Inclination to ſuccour the Diſtreſſed, ſoon after engaged him in a more difficult War, but which his great Abilities cauſed him to finiſh with equal Glory. In order to gain a right Conception of this Event, it will be neceſſary to aſcend a little higher, and give ſome Idea of the State of the *Ruſſian* or *Muſcovite* Empire at that Time.

Wolo-

Wolodomir Duke of *Ruſſia* endeavoured, by a Partition of his Territories, to prevent the Diviſions that might otherwiſe be created between his Sons, after his Death. His Precautions were, however, ineffectual, and the Expedient to which he had Recourſe for the Preſervation of Peace, was the very Circumſtance which kindled a War. *Jaroſlaus*, who aſpired to the Sovereignty of *Kiovia*, being exaſperated to find himſelf defeated in his Views, by the Diſpoſitions which his Father had made, took up Arms againſt him, and made himſelf Maſter of that City, and the Treaſures it contained. The old Duke ſoon appear'd in the Field, with an Intention to puniſh his Son, and to drive him from *Kiovia:* But the Fatigues of the War, in Conjunction with the Inquietude he ſuſtain'd by this Revolt, obliged him to ſtop at *Bereſtow*, where he died a few Days after. *Boriſz* and *Suantopelk*, two of his other Sons, had taken upon themſelves the Conduct of the Army in his Abſence, without receiving any Intelligence of their Father's Death, and they fought with ſo much Bravery as acquired them a compleat Victory over *Jaroſlaus*. *Suantopelk* was the only Gainer by this Event, for he made himſelf Maſter of *Kiovia*, and, to ſecure himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of it, he cauſed *Boriſz*, of whoſe Pretenſions he was apprehenſive, to be aſſaſſinated. When he had ſucceeded in this firſt Crime, he attempted a ſecond, and employed the ſame Expedient to rid himſelf of *Gleb* his Brother, in order to invade his Dominions. The War with *Ruſſia*.

Jaroſlaus was not diſcouraged by his firſt Defeat, but repaired his Loſſes, and ſoon appeared at the Head of a more potent Army. *Suantopelk* advanced to meet him, and the two Brothers confronted each other on the Banks of the *Boryſthenes*. 1068.

ryſthenes. The two Armies were ſeparated by this River, whoſe Breadth and Rapidity afforded them a common Intrenchment, and the utmoſt Danger threatned him who ſhould firſt attempt to paſs it. *Suantopelk*, who had no Inclination to hazard himſelf in that manner, was content to keep himſelf upon the defenſive, in order to which, he encamped on the Bank of the River, and fortified himſelf in that Situation, in a full Belief that the Stream would furniſh him with a ſufficient Barrier againſt his Enemy. This Perſuaſion ſeduced him into a dangerous Security, in Conſequence of which he left his Camp unguarded. *Jaroſlaus* took the Advantage of his Imprecaution, and the Deſire of avenging the Death of his Brothers, as well as his own Defeat, cauſed him to practiſe all poſſible Expedients for paſſing the River. He at laſt ſucceeded in his Deſign, and *Suantopelk* being ſurpriſed in the Midſt of his Fortifications, placed all his Safety in Flight, and retired into *Poland.*

He there found a powerful Protector. The King, deceived by the Artifice of *Suantopelk*, promiſed to reinſtate him in his Dominions. He accordingly entred *Ruſſia*, and conquer'd all the Country that extends as far as the River *Bog.* *Jaroſlaus* was poſted on the other Bank, in order to oppoſe the King's Paſſage, which he diſputed with him for ſeveral Days: But the King, prompted at laſt by his own Intrepidity, was determined not to ſuffer any longer Delay, and, as dangerous as the Action might appear, he expoſed himſelf to the Rapidity of the Torrent, in order to advance to the Enemy on the other Side. They were aſtoniſhed at ſo daring an Attempt, but being likewiſe re-animated by the Preſence of their Prince, who diſcharged the Functions of a Chief and a Soldier, they bravely diſputed the Victory

Victory; notwithſtanding which they were compell'd to yield to a more potent and experienced Conqueror. They fell back by Degrees, and their Retreat was ſoon changed into Flight.

The King was capable of improving this Victory, and having received Information that *Jaroſlaus* had retired, after his Defeat, to *Kiovia*, with the ſhatter'd Remains of his Troops, his firſt Deſign was to beſiege him in that Place, and with that View he was as expeditious as poſſible. But *Jaroſlaus* was either too expert, or had a better Opinion of the Activity of his Foe, than to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in that manner, and therefore made a Retreat, before the Arrival of the *Poliſh* Forces. The Place was, however, inveſted, and the King being informed that Proviſions began to be ſcarce, contented himſelf with a ſtrict Blockade, in order to reduce it by Famine, without hazarding the Lives of his Soldiers. The Beſieged ſuffer'd all the cruel Effects of Famine, but their Steadineſs was unavailing, and they were obliged to capitulate for the Preſervation of their Lives, which they reſigned to the Diſcretion of the Conqueror. The Ducal Caſtle was incapable of a long Reſiſtance, after the taking of the City, and thoſe immenſe Treaſures, which had been amaſſed there by the Dukes of *Ruſſia*, became the Booty of the *Poles*. The Conqueſt of *Ruſſia*.

The King, after this Expedition, diſpoſed his Troops into Winter Quarters, in the Parts adjacent to *Kiovia*, where he continued in Perſon with *Suantopelk*, whom he had re-eſtabliſhed on the Throne, tho' *Jaroſlaus* ſtill diſputed it with him. He had ſtill a Reſerve of Friends, and he was informed, by the Intelligence he maintained in *Kiovia*, of all the Proceedings of the King. And knowing that he continued in that City with a ſmall Body of Troops, he ſecretly formed a flying

a flying Camp, with an Intention either to carry him off by Surpriſe, or cauſe him to be ſlain. The Plot however happen'd to be detected; the King had Time to aſſemble Part of his Army; he purſued *Jaroſlaus*; paſt the *Boryſthenes* in his View; forced his Camp, and cut his Troops in Pieces in the Midſt of their Intrenchments. *Jaroſlaus* was ſo fortunate as to eſcape with a Body of Horſe to *Novogrod*; from whence he afterwards would have retreated, for Fear of a Siege; but he was animated to continue there by the Inhabitants, who left nothing unattempted to reeſtabliſh the Fortune of their Prince. They raiſed Troops, and charged themſelves with a voluntary Tax in order to pay them. And yet the Remembrance of the laſt Defeat made them apprehenſive of a ſecond, and all their Preparations remain'd without Effect.

The Perfidy of *Suantopelk.*

The Services which *Suantopelk* had received from the King of *Poland*, ought to have affected him with the moſt grateful Impreſſions; and yet he no ſooner imagined he no longer needed the Aſſiſtance of the *Poles*, than he began to conſider them as his greateſt Enemies, and he endeavoured to rid them from his Dominion by a moſt inhuman Method. His Intention was to maſſacre thoſe gallant Soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his Crown and Life. The Execution of this Barbarity was already begun, when the King received Intelligence of the black Conſpiracy. He immediately took to Horſe, and aſſembled Part of his Army with all Expedition. The Moment he appear'd, the perfidious *Suantopelk* became too intimidated to ſupport his Crime by Arms; and had Recourſe to Flight upon the Approach of the *Poliſh* Troops. The King enter'd *Kiovia*, as into an Enemies Town which had ſurrendred at Diſcretion, and every Part

of

of it was pillaged and ſacked. The *Poles* march-ed back to their own Country, charged with the Spoils of all *Ruſſia*, and even ſignaliz'd their Re-treat by a new Victory.

Jaroſlaus had acquired new Succours from the Fidelity of the Inhabitants of *Novogrod*; and ſee-ing himſelf at the Head of a potent Army, he thought himſelf in a Condition to diveſt the *Poles* of the Booty with which they were loaded. As he was perfectly acquainted with the Situa-tion of the Country, he concealed his March, and purſued them with ſo much Secrecy that they had no Suſpicion of his Approach. His Inten-tion was to ſurpiſe them amidſt their greateſt Se-curity, and when they ſhould be engaged in ſome incommodious Place. The King had already arrived at the Banks of the *Boryſthenes*, and had almoſt reached the Frontiers of his own Domi-nions; and as he imagined the Enemy was ei-ther vanquiſhed, or very remote from him, he diſmiſſed Part of his Troops, and the reſt were preparing to paſs the River, when the Centinels gave the Alarm at the Noiſe of the Army of *Ja-roſlaus* which then began to appear. The King concealed his Sentiments of the Danger, and his Prudence became as neceſſary to him as his In-trepidity, in this Conjuncture. He rallied his Troops, encouraged the Leaders, and animated the Soldiers: And when they kindled into a martial Warmth, he prevented the Foe, and ad-vanced againſt thoſe who expected to ſurpriſe him. The two Armies joined in Battle, and the King, at the Head of a choſen Batallion, broke into the Enemies Ranks, and bore down all who oppoſed him. *Jaroſlaus* was alſo formidable in his Turn, and the two Chiefs were equally victorious whereever they appear'd. But after 1009.

the Engagement had continued for ſome Hours, the *Ruſſian* Ardour began to be gradually extinguiſh'd. This was ſoon perceived by the King, and he then charged them with new Vigour. He threw himſelf into the thickeſt Throng with his Sabre in his Hand; forced himſelf a Paſſage through the Troops that confronted him, and in a few Moments broke in upon them from all Quarters. The Ranks were diſconcerted; the Victory was awhile retarded by Numbers, but all Oppoſition was at laſt unavailing. *Jaroſlaus* betook himſelf to Flight, and inglorioufly quitted the Enſigns of his Dignity, amidſt his Apprehenſions of falling into the Hands of his Enemies. The Defeat then became general, and it was no longer an Encounter, but a dreadful Carnage. Thus did the *Poles* formerly triumph over the *Ruſſians*, who have ſince become their Maſters and Oppreſſors.

1010. *Jaroſlaus* had ſtill thoſe Reſources that were conſiderable enough to repair all his Loſſes; and he appear'd the following Year in the Field, in order to cruſh the treacherous *Suantopelk*, who was no longer aſſiſted by the *Poles*. He defeated him in two Battles, and obliged him to fly, after which he diveſted him of his Dominions. *Suantopelk*, in this Extremity, had an Inclination to throw himſelf once over into the Arms of the King of *Poland*, and to implore the Protection of a Prince he had treated with ſo much Indignity. The King, either from the Motives of his Goodneſs, or elſe from political Inducements, determined to renew his Engagements with him, and prepared to re-enter *Ruſſia*, in order to eſtabliſh him once more upon the Throne, but this Enterpriſe was broke off by the Death of *Suantopelk*,

Suantopelk, which happen'd at the Time when thoſe Preparations were making.

Bretiſlaus, the Son of *Viſlaus* Duke of *Potocko*, undertook to avenge the Defeat and Death of his Uncle *Suantopelk*, and the young Prince was ſucceſsful in his firſt Attempts. He conquer'd all the Duchy of *Novegrod*, and made himſelf Maſter of the City that bears that Name. But *Jaroſlaus*, who waited for him at his Return, defeated him on the Banks of the River *Sadomir*, and eaſily regained all he had loſt.

At laſt *Jaroſlaus*, who 'till then had never yielded to the *Poles*, and whoſe Ambition ſeemed to be extended to all the Dominions of *Woldomir* his Father, met with an Enemy more dextrous, or at leaſt more fortunate, than himſelf.

His Brother *Mieczlaus* imagined it would be his Intereſt to oppoſe the Progreſs of ſo formidable a Power, and reſtrain it within due Bounds. He therefore declared War againſt *Jaroſlaus*, gain'd two great Victories over him, and made himſelf Maſter of *Kievia*. Ambition was not his Motive for taking up Arms againſt his Brother. He was ſatisfied with having humbled *Jaroſlaus*, and with making him ſenſible, that it was poſſible to conquer him, for which Reaſon he generouſly reſtored him all he had wreſted from him, and only reſerved to himſelf the Glory of ſo diſintereſted a Victory.

The *Ruſſian* War having been brought to ſo fortunate a Period, the King was apprehenſive leſt a State of Peace ſhould enervate the Courage of his Soldiers; in order therefore to continue them in the Habitude of being victorious, he determined to carry the War into *Saxony*. The *Saxons* had 'till then been free, but they were at laſt compelled to receive the Laws of *Boleſlaus* the Great. The Terror of his Name had pre-

ceded his March, and to ſuch a Degree as intimidated the Enemy from advancing to meet him, and they retired into impenetrable Woods. The *Poles* ravaged all their Country, and acquired a conſiderable Booty. The King, in his Return from this Expedition, halted on the Banks of the *Elb*, and cauſed two Columns of Iron to be erected, as well for an eternal Monument of his Conqueſts, as to fix the Frontiers of his Kingdom.

Pomerania and *Pruſſia* were likewiſe ſenſible of the Force of his Arms. The firſt of theſe Provinces had been diſmembred from the Kingdom of *Poland*. It was the prevailing Opinion that *Lezſco* the Third had conſigned the Sovereignty of it to ſeveral of his natural Sons, to hold it as Vaſſals to that Crown; but that theſe petty Princes had afterwards revolted, and, taking Advantage either of the Diſorders in the State or the Weakneſs of the Kings, had ſupported themſelves in their Independency for a conſiderable Time. *Boleſlaus* the Great compelled them to acknowledge him for their Lord, but as he conſidered them, at the ſame Time, as ancient Friends, he only required Fealty and Homage from them, without any Tribute. *Pruſſia* was likewiſe conſtrain'd to receive his Laws, and to pay him the Tribute he thought fit to impoſe upon them.

When he had eſtabliſhed Tranquillity in *Poland* by the Defeat of her Enemies, he cauſed his People to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories for ſome Years; he was ſedulous to regulate the Adminiſtration in the interior Parts of his Kingdom: He made Laws, and employed his Endeavours to create Obedience to them. But this happy Calm was interrupted by a new War, kindled by *Jaroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſſia*. The Deváſtation which the *Poles* had committed in his Domi-

Dominions; the Series of their Victories, and the Damages they had occaſion'd in his capital City, which they had taken and ſack'd, render'd him an implacaple Enemy to *Poland*, and he had long been making Preparations for a Vengeance which he at laſt diſplay'd. His formidable Power ſeem'd to be irreſiſtible, his Army was exceeding numerous, and his military Preparations entirely correſponded wich the Number of his Forces. *Boleſlaus* the Great was not intimidated at this Proceeding, and he had Troops who were prepared to oppoſe the Enemy. When he received Intelligence that *Jaroſlaus* had taken the Field, he likewiſe appear'd there himſelf, and when he had taken all the neceſſary Precautions for the Security of his Towns, he marched towards *Ruſſia*, with an Intention either to prevent the Enemy, or to make a powerful Diverſion in their Country, if they ſhould happen to penetrate into *Poland*. The two Princes confronted each other on the Banks of the *Boryſthenes*, which had already been render'd famous by the Defeat of *Jaroſlaus*. The King order'd his Troops to halt, in order to take ſome Refreſhment, but Chance, in Conjunction with the Animoſity of the two Parties, immediately drew on a general Engagement. As the Servants of the *Poliſh* Army were watering their Horſes in the River, they were inſulted by the Soldiers of the Enemy, upon which the *Poles* advanced to the Aſſiſtance of their Men. They at firſt moved on in ſmall Bodies, and as they were drawn together by Accident, their Number was continually increaſing. The Enemy likewiſe aſſembled on their Side, with loud Shouts, and the Soldiers of both Armies betook themſelves to Arms in the utmoſt Rage. The Chiefs were obliged to follow their Troops, and the *Poles*, who were more active

than their Adverſaries, threw themſelves into the River, paſt to the oppoſite Bank by ſwimming, and warmly attacked their Enemies who were ſtill unarm'd. The firſt Ranks were ſoon broken, the *Ruſſians* had recourſe to Flight, and carried the Alarm into their Camp. The whole Army was ſeized with a panic Terror, and nothing could ſtop their Flight. *Jaroſlaus*, amidſt the Confuſion and Deſpair that ſeized him when he found himſelf vanquiſhed, without a Poſſibility of coming to an Engagement, was compell'd to abandon his Camp and Baggage, and to accompany his Troops in their Flight.

They were purſued by the *Poles* with the utmoſt Vigour, and the King having expreſsly prohibited all Slaughter, the Number of the Priſoners exceeded that of the Victors. He made himſelf Maſter of all *Ruſſia*, but it may be affirmed, that he acted with ſo much Moderation, that the Submiſſion of the *Ruſſians* was rather the Effect of their Inclinations than of Conqueſt. *Jaroſlaus* ſued for Peace, and obtain'd it on eaſy Terms. The Priſoners were ſent back without Ranſom, and *Boleſlaus*, being ſatisfied with a moderate Tribute, had the Addreſs to calm, by a prudent Clemency, the impetuous Diſpoſitions of thoſe warlike People, whom neither the Force of his Arms, nor his repeated Conqueſts had been able to quell.

1025. *Poland*, after this Victory, had no longer any Enemies who durſt oppoſe her, and the whole Nation enjoyed a profound Peace during the Life of *Boleſlaus*. This great Prince died at the Age of Fifty Eight Years, and after a Reign of Twenty Five. He was ſucceeded by *Mieczlaus* his Son, who was crowned at *Gneſna*, by the Archbiſhop of that City. In this Time died the Empe-

The Death of *Boleſlaus*.

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ror *Henry* of *Bavaria*, whom the Church has ranked in the Claſs of its Saints, and his Son *Conrade* was his Succeſſor in the Empire.

The Death of *Boleſlaus* the Great was like a Signal to a general Commotion; and the Ferocity of the conquer'd People, being no longer checkt by that Barrier, broke forth with the utmoſt Violence. *Ruſſia*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Pomerania* and *Saxony* combined, almoſt at the ſame Time, to free themſelves from the Tribute that had been impos'd upon them. 1026. *Miecſlaus* II.

Jaroſlaus and *Miecſlaus* his Brother, Dukes of *Ruſſia*, were the firſt who appear'd in the Field: They forced the Frontiers of *Poland*, beſieged and took *Czerwienſko*, and ſome other ſmall Towns, and carried off the Inhabitants into the Palatinate of *Kiovia*. The Revolt would have been general, if the new King had not ſoon marched into *Ruſſia* with a numerous Army, and ſeized ſeveral Lords of that Country, as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the People; by which Expedient he extinguiſhed the Sparks of a Rebellion which would have diveſted him of all that Province.

The Revolt of *Bohemia* was attended with fatal Events. *Udalric* the Second, Son of the Duke of *Bohemia*, having been deliver'd up to *Boleſlaus* the Great, after he had conquer'd that Country was conſider'd in *Poland* rather as the Son of an unfortunate Prince, than as a vanquiſh'd and captive Enemy. The King cauſed him to be educated in his Court, with all the Attention that was due to his Birth, and was continually conferring Favours upon him. *Udalric* ſeem'd to to be affected with Gratitude, and this artful and inſinuating Perſon had the Addreſs to conceal his Ambition, under the exterior Appearance of The Revolt of *Bohemia*.

the moſt reſpectful Submiſſion. *Boleſlaus* ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſo fully perſuaded of the Attachment of this Prince, that he permitted him to retire into *Bohemia*, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to ſupport his Rank in that Country.

As great as theſe Obligations were in themſelves, they were no equivalent for a Crown, and a Conqueror is always a Foe. *Udalric*, upon his Arrival in *Bohemia*, looked upon that Province as a Patrimony which had been unjuſtly uſurped from him, and employed all his Thoughts to regain it. He had recourſe to ſecret and different Methods to rid himſelf of the Lords who adhered to the *Poliſh* Party; and indirectly ſpirited up the Inclinations of thoſe who were well affected to his Houſe; in a Word, he diſpoſed all Things for a general Inſurrection. He had long waited for a favourable Conjuncture, and it was now preſented to him by the Death of *Boleſlaus*, and the Abſence of *Miceſlaus*, who was then in *Ruſſia*. He cauſed his Son *Bretiſlaus* to aſſume the Title of Duke of *Bohemia*, and refuſed the Payment of the uſual Tribute. The People took up Arms, and the *Poliſh* Garriſons, being left defenceleſs, were either maſſacred or compelled to fly.

1038. The ſame Spirit which kindled this Revolt, was ſoon diffuſed through *Moravia*. *Bretiſlaus* entred it with his Troops, but, at the ſame Time, placed more Confidence in the Intelligence he maintained there, than he did in his own Forces. The Inhabitants of the Country had already entred into a Treaty with him, and the Conſpiracy had been conducted in ſuch a ſecret Manner, that the *Poles* beheld themſelves ſuddenly attack'd by the People of that Country, in Conjunction

junction with a foreign Enemy, without being in any Condition to defend themſelves. In vain did theſe unhappy Soldiers implore the Aſſiſtance of their Prince. The weak *Miecſlaus* beheld all theſe Revolutions with an Air of Indifference, and left theſe his Garriſons expoſed to the Fury of thoſe barbarous Nations, ſo that they were either maſſacred like a common Enemy, or ſold as Slaves.

Miecſlaus did not poſſeſs any of the great Qualities that were ſo conſpicuous in his Father. His Indolence and Debaucheries render'd him contemptible to his Subjects. *Bohemia* and *Moravia* had already revolted with Impunity, and the Provinces that were adjacent to *Germany*, imagined they were as capable as the reſt, to free themſelves from the Yoke of that effeminate and voluptuous Prince. The Governours aſſumed the Title of Sovereigns of the places that had been confided to their Care, and by the Aid of the *Germans*, with whom they had been united by Commerce and Intermarriages, they ſupported themſelves in their Uſurpations. The Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* is formed out of ſeveral of theſe Principalities, which were united by the Lords of the Country, either by the Means of Dexterity, or by force of Arms. *Pomerania* had alſo an Independent Prince. 1030.

The *Poliſh* Lords, when they received Intelligence of theſe proceedings, employed their utmoſt endeavours to awake *Miecſlaus* from his Lethargy, and to engage him to quit his Palace. Their Reproaches, in Conjunction with the Apprehenſions this Prince entertain'd of a general Rebellion, were more perſuaſive with him, than either his Courage or the Conſideration of his own Glory. Three Princes of *Hungary* attended him in this Expedition. The Inſolence of the *Pomeranians*

ans was quelled, and thoſe who headed the Rebels were puniſhed with Death. The *Poles* owed their Conqueſt to the Courage and Conduct of *Bela*, one of the three *Hungarian* Lords. Some Authors declare that he killed, in ſingle Combat, the New Duke whom the Inhabitants of *Pomerania* had elected. *Miecſlaus* induced by Gratitude, and the Confidence he repoſed in the Fidelity of *Bela*, gave him the Government of that Country, with the Title of Duke, and his own Daughter in Marriage.

1034. The Death of *Miecſlaus*. *Miecſlaus*, when this Expedition was compleated, ſhut himſelf up in his Palace, and devoted himſelf anew to his Pleaſures: but they proved fatal to him in the Event, and his immoderate Debauches ſoon laid him in the Grave. He was ſiezed with a kind of Frenzy, whoſe Rage was incapable of any Mitigation, and he died the Fifteenth of *March*, in this Year, very little regretted by his Subjects.

1035. The Contempt which the People had entertain'd for *Miecſlaus*, was extended even to his Son *Caſimir*, and they were apprehenſive leſt he ſhould devote himſelf to the ſame Vices, and prove as voluptuous as his Father. The Lords therefore, conceived it proper to ſuſpend his Election and Coronation, without excluding him entirely from the Throne. During his Minority, the Adminiſtration of Affairs was conſigned to *Rixa*, the Mother of the young Prince, and the Daughter of *Godfrey* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. But the Regent exaſperated the People yet more, by her imperious Conduct, and her unjuſt Preference of the *Germans*, to the *Poles*. She would never be prevailed upon to ſuppreſs ſome odious Impoſts, which had been introduced by *Miecſlaus*, and

and ſhe advanced Perſons of her Nation to all Offices in the State. The People were overwhelmed with Exactions; the Adminiſtration of Affairs was in the hands of Strangers, who alone diſpoſed of every thing. In vain were Remonſtrances made to her, on the Subject of ſuch juſt Complaints; ſhe refuſed to hear them, and treated thoſe who came to offer them, with a contemptuous Pride. This Inflexibility, at laſt, diſſolved the feeble Bands that united the *Poles* to their Sovereign.

1036. The Regent is expell'd the Country.

The Regent was at laſt baniſhed, and obliged to ſeek an Aſylum out of the *Poliſh* Dominions. She carried with her thoſe immenſe Treaſures, that were acquired by the Victories of *Boleſlaus* the great, and placed herſelf, and her Son, under the Protection of the Emperor. This Prince gave them an honourable Reception, and promiſed them a ſpeedy Vengeance, He even cauſed Troops to advance to the Frontiers of *Poland*, but it was rather with a view to ſave Appearances, than to employ any Efforts ſufficient to reeſtabliſh *Caſimir* on the Throne of his Father.

1037. A Civil War in *Poland*.

It is equally the Intereſt of Sovereigns and Subjects to acquit themſelves of their reciprocal Obligations to each other, and from which their Union reſults; when this Intercourſe, which cauſes Kings to be reſpected, and conſtitutes the happineſs of a People, is once diſconcerted, their Diviſions are equally fatal to them both. *Rixa*, by exerting the Authority with which ſhe had been entruſted, in too imperious a manner, diveſted her Son of a Crown, and the *Poles*, who were immoderately jealous of their Prerogatives, baniſhed their Prince, and in conſequence of that proceeding, degenerated into a State of Anarchy, which occaſion'd innu-

innumerable Diſorders. Each particular Lord form'd equal Pretenſions to the Supreme Power, or, at leaſt, was deſirous of preſerving himſelf in a ſtate of Independency. Hence it was, that the Laws were diſregarded, and Crimes were committed with Impunity. All Command and Subjection entirely ceaſed, and Diſcord was diffuſed thro' all the Provinces. *Maſlas*, a private Officer under King *Miecſlaus*, fixed himſelf in the Palatinate of *Ploſko*; and a Number of other Tyrants eſtabliſhed themſelves in every part of the Kingdom. They were equally inveterate againſt each other, and the nobleſt Blood of *Poland* was ſhed in their Quarrels. The Nobility oppreſſed the Peaſants with Taxes, and theſe injured People having no opportunity of imploring Redreſs from a lawful Power, conſpired againſt the Nobles, and had Recourſe to Arms, to defend themſelves from Oppreſſion. The Peaſants, being no longer permitted to enjoy the Fruit of their Toils, betook themſelves to Robbery, and elected Chiefs out of their own Body. The Publick Roads were no longer paſſable in Safety; no Aſylum was any ſecurity from their Depredations; and they attacked even Towns and Cities. The Republick was in as dangerous a Situation as the State, and Paganiſm, which had long been laid low, made its laſt Efforts to erect its Altars anew. The Churches were plunder'd, and it was with Difficulty that the Biſhops eſcaped the Rage of theſe impious Wretches. The ſacred Veſſels were deſtroy'd, and there were even ſome Lords who had the Preſumption to propoſe an utter Extinction of Chriſtianity, in order to reeſtabliſh the Worſhip of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, whom *Poland* had formerly adored, under the Appellations of *Jeſſa*, and *Liada*.

A Fo-

A foreign War ſoon compleated the Calamities of this Kingdom. The *Bohemians*, its antient Enemies, improved theſe inteſtine Diviſions, in order to avenge their former Defeats, and to give Chains to thoſe by whom they had been ſo often vanquiſhed. *Bretiſlaus*, with this View, enter'd *Poland*; the Frontiers of which had been open'd to him by the civil War, and it was now in a Condition to be conquer'd by its weakeſt Enemies. *Wratiſlaw*, and *Poſnan*, vainly ſuſtain'd a Siege, *Bretiſlaus* made himſelf Maſter of thoſe Cities, and abandon'd them to Pillage and Fire. *Gneſna*, which was expoſed from every Quarter, and unprovided with Fortifications, was incapable of Reſiſtance, and was therefore entirely plunder'd and ſacked. The unhappy Citizens were either murder'd or reduced to a wretched ſtate of Slavery. The unrelenting Soldier ſatiated his Brutality and his Avarice; the Churches were profaned, and their Altars overthrown. The Miniſters of Religion were tortur'd, in order to make them confeſs where the Cheſt and the Body of St. *Adalbert* were depoſited, and they were ſaved by a meer Miracle from the Avidity of the Conqueror. In a Word, *Gneſna* experienced all the calamitous and dreadful Effects of War, and *Bretiſlaus* did not withdraw his Troops from that City, till he had renderd it a Scene of Deſolation, and he carried off an infinite Number of Priſoners of all Ranks, which he diſperſed in Colonies thro' his Dominions. The Irruption of the *Bohemians*.

Jaroſlaus marched into *Poland*, much about the ſame time, from another Quarter, and the Irruption of the *Ruſſians* was as cruel as that of the *Bohemians*. Whatever had eſcaped the Fury and Avarice of the laſt, became the Prey of *Jaroſlaus*. He depopulated the Duchy of *Mazovia* with Fire and Sword, and 1039.

and did not retreat from that Country, till he had nothing more to plunder.

The Popes were then endeavouring to eſtabliſh their Authority over the temporal Juriſdiction of Kings, and aſſumed a Prerogative to judge of their Differences. When a Prince was deſtitute of Forces to reſiſt an Enemy, he gain'd a formidable protection at *Rome*, and was aided with Thunders that were ſometimes much more potent than the moſt numerous Armies. The *Poles* had recourſe to theſe Aids, and by the Advice of *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, diſpatched a memorable Embaſſy to *Rome*, to accuſe *Bretiſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia* with Sacrilege, and other Inſtances of Impiety, and to complain of the Devaſtations he had made in *Poland*, without any Diſtinction of ſacred things from prophane. The Ambaſſadors had, at firſt, a favourable Audience, rather becauſe it was the Intereſt of the Popes to receive all kinds of Complaints, and to efface by Degrees, the Ideas that might be formed of the Incompetency of their Tribunal, with relation to ſuch Affairs, than with any view to render due Juſtice to *Poland*. *Breteſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, and *Severus* Biſhop of *Prague*, were cited to appear at *Rome*. Their Envoys, who ſeem'd to be apprehenſive of of an Excommunication, promiſed, in the Name their Maſters, a full Reſtitution of all that had been taken from the Metropolitan Church of *Gneſna*, and the other Churches of that Kingdom, and to repair the Damages ſuſtain'd by the War. But a Number of Springs were ſecretly put in Motion, Sums of Gold were diſtributed with a judicious Prodigality, and they produced their uſual Effect, ſince the Miniſters of the Court of *Rome* were incapable of reſiſting the Luſtre it preſented to their View.

The

The Church at that time ſuſtain'd a fatal Scandal, by the Intruſion of *Benedict* IX. into St. *Peter*'s Chair. The Youth of this Pope and his Neceſſity for Money, to oppoſe two Competitors, and gratify thoſe who were devoted to his Intereſt, were very favourable Conjunctures to the *Bohemians*. The Decree of Citation, and the Promiſſes made by the Envoys of the Duke of *Bohemia* were entirely forgotten, and *Rome*, who has ſo much ardour to be obeyed when ſhe is not corrupted by Money, took no Meaſures, at that time, for the Execution of her Decrees.

The civil War continued to rage in *Poland* with the ſame Violence. The Interruption of Commerce, the Flight of the *Peaſants*, who left the Country deſert and uncultivated, the Conflagration and Ruin of the principal Cities, were but faint Inſtances of the Calamities in which that Kingdom was then involved. Harraſſed by tyrannical Men, who gave a Looſe to their lawleſs Conduct in her very Boſom, invaded by the neighbouring Nations, from without, and who enter'd it with a Kind of Emulation, as a common Conqueſt, it was ready to receive the Laws of the firſt Tyrant who would condeſcend to eſtabliſh himſelf in thoſe Territories. Some of the Nobility united, at laſt, to conſider of ſome proper Expedient for the Extinction of theſe Diſorders. They all acknowledged that a Prince was neceſſary for *Poland*, but their Views were different with reſpect to that Choice. Some gave their Suffrage for a neighbouring Prince, others declared in favour either of themſelves, or ſome Lord of the Kingdom: the greateſt Number of them, ſupported by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, were of Opinion, that it would be neceſſary to recall *Caſimir*: And, indeed, it was dangerous to offer the Throne to a neighbouring Prince, whoſe

particular

particular Intereſt, might, poſſibly, be oppoſite to that of the Nation; On the other Hand, it was altogether as hazardous to confer the Regal Dignity on a *Poliſh* Lord, who would want ſufficient Power and Authority to cauſe himſelf to be reſpected, and there was reaſon to be apprehenſive, that an Election of this nature would rekindle the Civil War which they propoſed to extinguiſh. Theſe Conſiderations united all the Suffrages in favour of the Grandſon of *Boleſlaus* the Great. They no longer conſider'd *Caſimir* as the Son of *Mieciſlaus* and *Rixa*, but rather as the Decendant of a King who had eſtabliſhed the Glory and Happineſs of *Poland*, and whom the preſent Calamities had recalled more effectually to their Remembrance.

The young Prince had been abſent from that Kingdom for the Space of five Years, and the *Poles* were unacquainted with the place of his Retreat. Ambaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to *Rixa* his Mother, who had then retired to *Brunſwick*, to deſire her to inform them of the Place where her Son reſided. *Caſimir* had privately retired into *France*, and applied himſelf to his Studies at *Paris*, in that famous Univerſity, which is the Mother of all the reſt. He afterwards paſt into *Italy*, where St. *Romuald* had prevailed upon him to become a Monk. After which he returned into *France*, and retired into the Abby of *Clugni*, where he had received the *Monaſtic* Habit and a Deaconſhip of that Church.

1040 The Ambaſſadors came to ſeek him in that Retreat, and paid their Homage to him as their King: but *Caſimir* was no longer Maſter of his own Liberty, and the Engagement to which he had ſubjected himſelf, rendred him incapable of wearing the Crown. It was neceſſary, therefore, to have Recourſe to the Pope, for a Diſpenſation. The Caſe was of an extraordinary Nature, and it will

will always be ſurpriſing to ſee a young Prince, expelled from his Dominions, and inveſted with the Habit of a Monk, afterwards quit his Cloiſter to reaſcend the Throne. *Benedict* IX. whom we have already mention'd, was touched with Compaſſion, when the Deſolation and Calamities of *Poland* were related to him; and the neceſſity there was for crowning *Caſimir*, ſeemed to him a ſufficient inducement to diſcharge the Prince from his Engagements. However, the Diſpenſation was not gratuitous, and one of the firſt Conditions on which it was accorded, was his conſenting to ſubmit to an Apoſtolic Tax, called St. *Peters Pence*; and which all the *Poles* ſhould be obliged to pay by Capitation. The holy Father likewiſe inſiſted on their promiſe to ſhave their Heads and Beards, like the reſt of the *Roman Catholics*, and to wear a white Linen Stole about their Necks, at all the principal Feſtivals in the Year. Theſe three Conditions were executed with the greateſt punctuality.

A Schiſm in the Church.

Some Hiſtorians aſſure us, that this Diſpenſation was granted by *Clement* II. and this contrariety among them was occaſion'd by the Number of thoſe who pretended to the Papacy, and by the Confuſion which was then introduced by that Schiſm. It is certain that *Benedict* IX. was but twelve Years of Age when he aſcended the Chair of St. *Peter*. This young Pope was, however, acknowledged, tho' he afterwards was diveſted of his Dignity, and the Biſhop of *Sabina*, who aſſumed the Name of *Sylveſter*, was elected in his Place; ſome time after which *Benedict* regained the Pontificate, but he was obliged, a ſecond time, to reſign in favour of the Archbiſhop of the Church of St. *John Porta Latina*, who took the Name of *Gregory* VI. Till at laſt the Emperor *Henry* the third, having ſucceeded *Conrade*

his Father, came into *Italy*, enter'd *Rome*, depoſed this Troop of intruding Popes, and confer'd the Papal Dignity on *Syndger* Biſhop of *Bamberg*, from whom he received the Imperial Crown.

About the ſame time, *Jaroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſſia*, who had united in his own Perſon, all the Dominions of his Father *Wolodomir*, formed a Deſign to render his Empire ſtill more extenſive. He declared War againſt the *Greek* Emperor, and ſent his Son *Wladimir* with a numerous Fleet, to beſiege *Conſtantinople*; but this Enterprize was render'd abortive by a dreadful Tempeſt. *Wladimir* ſaved himſelf, with the utmoſt Difficulty, from the Wreck, after he had loſt part of his Troops, and endeavoured, in that deſtitute Condition, to return to *Ruſſia* by Land, with the Remains of his Soldiers: but he was purſued by the *Greeks* who continually harraſſed him, without drawing on a general Engagement, by which means they hoped to defeat him entirely by thoſe little Encounters. The *Ruſſians*, who were fatigued, and deſtitute of Forage and Proviſions, and were ready to ſink under the Attacks of an Enemy who fled, the Moment they oppoſed him, were, at laſt, ſo fortunate as to find a favourable Conjuncture, which compelled the *Greeks* to a Battle. The *Ruſſians* were animated by Deſpair, and they forced a Victory, which they would have loſt, if they had not been almoſt defeated.

Caſimir was received by the *Poles*, as a Perſon who came to reſtore Peace and Plenty among them. The Biſhops and the Nobility advanced to the Frontiers, in Order to receive him, with all the Troops they were in a Condition to aſſemble, and they conducted him to *Gneſna*, where he was crown'd by *Stephen* Archbiſhop of that City. Their new Monarch devoted his firſt Cares to clear his Kingdom from the Robbers that infeſt-

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ed it. He beſieged and demoliſhed their Caſtles, and their Chiefs were ſeized, and puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity. A general Amneſty was granted to the reſt, becauſe it was dangerous to puniſh ſo great a Number. The Peaſants returned to cultivate their Lands; the Merchants engaged anew in Commerce; People of all Ranks, employed themſelves in their proper Functions; the Cities were repeopled; civil Society was reeſtabliſhed; the Laws reſumed their Vigour; and if any Rebels were then left, they were only permited to continue in their Uſurpations, in order to be cruſhed in a more effectual Manner.

When the moſt preſſing Diſorders of the State were rectified, the Nobility began to conſider the Marriage of their Prince, as an Affair of the greateſt Importance, and they prevailed upon him to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Jaroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſſia* to demand his Siſter *Mary* in Marriage. This Princeſs was the Daughter of *Wolodomir*, and *Ann*, the Siſter of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, Emperors of the Eaſt; and tho' ſhe had been educated in the *Greek* Religion, the Difference in Rites was no Obſtruction to *Caſimir*. Good Politicks, and the Welfare of the State, in Conjunction with the King's inclination, ſoon removed all Difficulties, and the Princeſs *Mary* was conſign'd to the Ambaſſadors, with a large Sum of Money for her Portion. She renounced the Rites of the *Greek* Church, and after a Reiteration of the Ceremonials of her Baptiſm, through an Apprehenſion of the Invalidity of that which ſhe had received in *Ruſſia*, where the Prieſts were but little inſtructed in the Articles of Religion, ſhe eſpouſed *Caſimir*, who, ſoon after, cauſed her to be Crowned Queen of *Poland*.

As a long Peace was neceſſary to this Kingdom, in order to repair the Loſſes it had ſuſtain'd; *Ca-* 1042.

ſimir neglected no Expedients to procure it. His Marriage with the Siſter of the Duke of *Ruſſia*, ſecured him from any Hoſtilities from that Quarter: His Mother *Rixa* had gain'd him the Friendſhip of the *Germans*, and he might juſtly hope for all imaginable Succors from them. *Bretiſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia* was the only Enemy of whom he had any Cauſe to be apprehenſive, but the Emperor render'd that Prince incapable of forming any Attempt againſt *Poland*, and he revenged the Devaſtations which the *Bohemians* had committed in that Kingdom. Their Duke having ſubmitted to all the Conditions the Emperor thought fit to impoſe upon him, was obliged to follow his Conqueror to *Ratiſbonne*, to pay him Homage for his Dominions, and to reſtore to *Poland* all the Places he had uſurped during the Civil Wars.

The Defeat of the Tyrant *Maſlas*.

The Duchy of *Mazovia* had not yet acknowledged the Authority of *Caſimir*, and *Maſlas*, of whom we have already related ſome particulars, was ſupported by the Forces of *Pruſſia*, and perſiſted in his Revolt. The King at laſt marched againſt this Rebel, and, by the Aid of his Brother *Jaroſlaus*, defeated the Tyrant of that Province. *Maſlas* found an Aſylum in *Pruſſia*, and reenter'd *Mazovia*, the following Year, with a new Army; but all his Adherents were entirely diſſipated by a ſecond Overthrow. The Province ſubmitted to its lawful Prince, and the Uſurper having taken Refuge, once more, in *Pruſſia*, met with the uſual Fate of Tyrants, and was killed by the very People whoſe Succours he employed, to ſupport himſelf in his Revolt.

1043. All theſe Foreign and inteſtine Wars were at laſt ſucceeded by a ſolid and laſting Peace, and *Caſimir* improved this happy Tranquillity, in the Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and the Cultivation of the

the Sciences, of which the Cloiſters were, at that time, the only Repoſitories. The Nobility look'd upon the Sciences, as a mean and ſuperfluous Employment, and the Commonalty beſtowed all their Attention on Agriculture and Commerce. In theſe times of Ignorance, the Monks were the only Perſons, who were capable of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſome Attainments in Science. They were the Defenders of Religion, and Literature, and are almoſt the only Canal through which the Traditions and Hiſtory of our Anceſtors have been tranſmitted to us. *Clugni* was, at that time, one of the moſt famous Monaſteries; the Learning and Sanctity of its Abbots, and the great Perſons who had been educated by them, cauſed this Abby to be reſpected by all the Chriſtian World, and ſhe counted even Kings and Popes, among the Pupils ſhe had trained up. In a Word, the Leſſons ſhe imparted were of equal Uſe in the Government of a State, and the Vindication of Religion. *Caſimir* had received his Education in that Place, and it may be juſtly ſaid, that he there acquired the Art of reigning as became a Chriſtian Prince. His Gratitude to his Maſters, and even the Intereſt of his Kingdom, were his Inducements to found Monaſteries of the ſame Inſtitution in *Poland*; and in order to compleat this Deſign, he diſpatched ſome Perſons of Repute, with rich Preſents to the Abby of *Clugni*, to deſire that ſome of the Monks might be ſent to *Poland*. The Abbot, accordingly, ſent twelve, and *Caſimir*, upon their Arrival, built the Abby of *Tiniec*, on the *Viſtula* near *Cracow*. [illegible] was the firſt Abbot, and he was afterwards [illegible] the Archiepiſcopal Throne of the *Poland*.

[illegible]igion was thus receiving its Eſta[illegible]*land, and whilſt* this Kingdom en-

joyed a profound Peace, *Hungary*, divided by a civil War, relapſed almoſt entirely into Paganiſm, and its antient Superſtitions. *Peter*, the Son of *William* Duke of *Burgundy*, had aſcended the Throne of *Hungary*, by the Aid of his Siſter *Giſla*, the Widow of King *Stephen*. But the Debaucheries of this Prince, and his Favourites, growing inſupportable to the *Hungarians*, they revolted, and Crowned *Abba*.

1046. The Cruelty of this new Prince, made him as odious as *Peter* had rendred himſelf by his infamous Pleaſures. Several of the Nobility, being in fear of their Lives, retired into *Germany*, to their old King, who had found a Sanctuary in the Court of the Emperor *Henry*, and they ſollicited their depoſed Prince to make ſome Efforts to reaſcend his Throne. *Peter* aſſembled a Body of Troops; the Emperor his Ally, likewiſe ſupplied him with Forces, and was even deſirous of being the chief in this Expedition. *Abba* was defeated and ſlain by his own Soldiers, the Kingdom, after his Death, ſubmitted to the Authority of *Peter*, and he reſumed the Crown in Royal *Alba*.

1048. This Prince, however, did not wear it long; for the People, either through an Inconſtancy that was natural to them, or in conſequence of a new Averſion to their Prince, conſpired againſt him. Their Deſigns were diſcovered, and the King puniſhed the three Leaders of the Rebels with Death, and cauſed the Eyes of the other Conſpirators to be plucked out. This bloody Execution exaſperated the Nobility to a greater Degree, and they ſecretly offer'd the Crown to *Andrew*, *Bela* and *Leventa*, the Nephews of King *Stephen*, who had retired into *Poland*, and had proved very ſerviceable to King *Mieciſlaus* in the War of *Pomerania*.

Bela,

Bela refuſed their Offers, but *Andrew* and *Leventa* paſſed into *Hungary*, where, at their Arrival, they revolted againſt *Peter*, who was taken Priſoner, and condemned to loſe his Eyes. His Officers were likewiſe maſſacred, three Biſhops, and ſeveral Prieſts were cut in Pieces, and a ſacrilegious Rage having ſuddenly infected the whole Nation, the Altars were overturned, the Churches were pillaged, and all the Pagan Superſtitions were reeſtabliſhed.

Leventa, who was the Author of this ſurpriſing Revolution, was indefatigable to obliterate every Trace of the true Religion; but this impious Prince did not live long enough to accompliſh his horrid Deſigns; an immature Death delivered the *Hungarians* from his Tyranny. *Andrew* his Brother enjoy'd the regal Dignity without any Competitor, and when he ſaw his Authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he left nothing unattempted to recover his Subjects to the true Faith, and their Apoſtaſy, being only the Effect of a Popular Emotion, was ſoon ſucceeded by Repentance. They reflected with Deteſtation on their former Fury; Paganiſm was proſcribed, and forgotten, with as much facility as it was before eſtabliſhed. 1049.

The Emperor *Henry* had undertaken to avenge the Death of King *Peter* his Ally, and he carryed the War into *Hungary*, at two different times, tho' with very little Succeſs. The third Expedition was ſtill more unfortunate than the preceeding; the *Hungarians*, who were in no Condition to encounter him in the Field, endeavoured to defeat him by Stratagem. They found Means to draw him into the Country, where they cut off all Proviſions and Forage from his Troops. Famine was ſucceeded by a Peſtilence, and Dyſ- 1050. 1051. 1152. The Emperor's Expedition into *Hungary*.

ſentery, and the Emperor, after he had loſt his beſt Soldiers, was obliged to retreat to *Germany*: But, having entered *Hungary* the fourth time, with a more numerous Army, and his Loſſes having inſtructed him in the manner of proſecuting a War in that Country, he filled it with Devaſtations, and compelled King *Andrew* to ſubmit to him, and ſupplicate for Peace.

Leo 9th. made Pope.

The People of *Rome* had yielded to the Emperors the Right of creating their Popes; and *Henry* III. in the Execution of that Convention, had given the Papacy to *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Toul* in *Lorrain*, who aſſumed the Name of *Leo* the Ninth. This Prelate taking a Journey to *Rome*, after his Nomination, in order to be Crowned, paſſed by the Abby of *Clugni*, where *Hildebrand* the Monk, who afterwards aſcended St. *Peter*'s Chair, and became ſo famous, under the Name of *Gregory* the Seventh, perſuaded him that his Election was not Canonical, and that the Emperors had no Right to create Popes. *Bruno* immediately quitted the Enſigns of his Dignity, and entered *Rome* without the leaſt Ceremony, and altogether like a private Perſon. The Clergy and People elected him anew, and he was determined to owe his Elevation to their Suffrages alone.

After the Death of *Leo*, *Benedict* the Ninth had an Inclination to reenter *Rome*, from whence he had been ſo frequently expelled: but the *Romans* oppoſed him, and diſpatched *Hildebrand* to the Emperor, to requeſt his Nomination of *Gerard* Biſhop of *Eichſtat*, to the Pontificate. This dexterous Miniſter ſucceeded in his Negotiation, and even exceeded his Commiſſion, in an advantageous manner. He cauſed *Henry* the Fourth to be nominated for the Succeſſion to the Empire, after his Father, and this Action gave People occaſion

ſion to ſay, that the Emperor was ſo far from having any Right to create Popes, that, on the contrary, the Pope was privileg'd to create the Emperors. If proper Obſervations had then been made, it would have been eaſy to have diſcover'd thoſe Sentiments which *Hildebrand* render'd ſo conſpicuous in the Event, when he was inveſted with ſufficient Authority to enforce them.

1056. The Death of *Caſimir.* The Emperor *Henry* III, died this Year, in the Month of *October*, and his Son *Henry* IV, who was then Seven Years of Age, became his Succeſſor, under the Regency of the Empreſs *Agnes*. The Death of *Henry* was follow'd by that of *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, ſurnamed the Pacific. This Prince had the Ability to enrich his Kingdom by a long Peace, and, by his Wiſdom, he repaired the Loſſes which Religion, as well as the State, had ſuſtained in the Courſe of the civil Wars. And tho' he may ſeem to have prefer'd Repoſe to the Tumult of War, he ſignaliz'd his Courage, nevertheleſs, on ſeveral Occaſions, and it may be ſaid, that the Peace which he was careful to cultivate, was rather the Effect of his political Prudence, than any Diſinclination to War. He died at the Age of Forty Four Years, and after he had reigned Eighteen. He was lamented by all his Subjects, and *Poland* ſtill conſiders him as one of its greateſt Kings. He was buryed in the Cathedral Church of *Poſnan*, by the Side of his Unkle *Boleſlaus* the Great.

Boleſlaus II. his Election. Some of the Nobility were for deferring the [illegible]onation[illegible]s, but the Memory of his [illegible]er with the Sollicitations [illegible]ther were ſo prevailing, determined to elect him crowned at *Gneſna*, in the Preſence

Preſence of thoſe Lords who had aſſiſted at the Funeral of the late King.

1059. The Tranquillity and Power of *Poland* render'd it the Retreat of all unfortunate Princes. *Zaſlaus* Duke of *Kiovia*, and eldeſt Son of the famous *Jaroſlaus* Duke of *Ruſſia*, being apprehenſive of the Fury of his Subjects, who had revolted from him, found an honourable Protection and Aſylum in the Court of *Boleſlaus*, to whom he was related. During his Abſence, his Brother *Suantoſlaus* Duke of *Czernihow*, defeated, with no more than 3000 Men, a great Army of *Lithuanians*, who had already ravaged the *Ruſſian* Territories; he made their Duke a Priſoner, and diveſted them of their Booty: *Wenceſlaus*, the youngeſt Son of *Jaroſlaus*, and who had the Duchy of *Smolenſko* allotted to him, improved the Revolt of the Subjects of *Zaſlaus* to his own Advantage; quitted the Priſon in which that Prince had confined him for the Space of a Year, and, by the Aid of the Rebels, made himſelf Maſter of the Duchy of *Kiovia*.

Bela, diſſatisfied with his Brother the King of *Hungary*, retired, likewiſe, into *Poland* with his Wife and Children. This Prince had ſome Reaſon to hope, that, after the Death of *Andrew* his Brother, he ſhould aſcend the Throne of *Hungary*, which he had entirely abdicated in his Favour, tho' he had juſt Pretenſions to it, as Heir to King *Stephen*: But when *Andrew* beheld himſelf recognized in that Manner, he engaged the Lords to nominate his Son *Solomon* for his Succeſſor to that Kingdom. *Bela*, having been ſent for to be preſent at that Ceremonial, could not behold it without diſcovering his Reſentment and Pretenſions. He repreſented to the Nobles, who were aſſembled for the Coronation of

of *Solomon*, the Injuſtice of his Brother; and he even reproached them, for preferring an Infant of Seven Years of Age before him. After an Action of ſo extraordinary a Nature, he no longer imagined himſelf ſafe in the Dominions of his Brother, for which Reaſon he immediately withdrew, and uſed all poſſible Expedition to ſecure himſelf from the Vengeance of that Prince, by recurring to the Protection of *Boleſlaus*, who afterwards took up Arms in his Favour, defeated *Andrew*, and cauſed *Bela* to be crowned King of *Hungary*.

After the Death of *Spitigna*, Son of *Breteſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, his Brother *Wratiſlaus*, who had retired into *Hungary*, was recalled by the Nobility, who acknowledged him for their Duke. The Mortifications and Difficulties which this Prince had experienced in a long Exile, furniſhed him with Leſſons of Generoſity and Humanity. He treated his Brothers *Otho* and *Conrade* like a real Father, and conſigned *Moravia* to them as their perpetual Property. *Jaromir*, the youngeſt of all the Brothers, and who had taken Sanctuary in a Cloiſter from the Fury of the cruel *Spitigna*, receiving Intelligence of his Death, quitted the Place of his Retreat, and reſumed the ſecular Habit, tho' he had already made the uſual Vows. He came to his Brother *Wratiſlaus*, who, inſtead of approving his Conduct, exhorted him to return to a State which he could not quit without a Crime, and he prevailed upon him to receive a Deaconſhip, in Conſequence of the Hopes he gave him of obtaining for him the Biſhoprick of *Prague*. This prudent Advice was, however, ineffectual, *Jaromir* ſoon relapſed into his former Sentiments, and ſome diſcontented Lords, who had join'd themſelves to him,

induced.

induced him to quit his Retreat a ſecond Time; but as he was apprehenſive of the Diſpleaſure of his Brother *Wratiſlaus*, he thought it moſt adviſeable to retire into *Poland*, with a great Body of the *Bohemian* Nobility, who accompany'd him in his Flight.

The Irruption of the *Bohemians*.

Boleſlaus was induced to receive him into his Dominions, from political Conſiderations. The Duke of *Bohemia* dreading the Conſequences of his Brother's Eſcape, and being irritated at the Reception he had obtained in the *Poliſh* Court, looked upon *Boleſlaus* as an Enemy, whoſe Deſigns it was incumbent on him to prevent. With this View, and without any previous Declaration of War, he marched through the *Hercynian* Foreſt, enter'd *Poland*, and carried the Devaſtations of Fire and Sword through all *Sileſia*. *Boleſlaus*, at the News of this Irruption, formed a flying Camp, and haſten'd to extinguiſh, with the Blood of his Enemies, the Fires they kindled on his Frontiers. The *Bohemians* were almoſt ſurprized by the Activity of his Proceeding, and they had no Expedient, but a Stratagem, to diſengage themſelves from the Danger that threatned them; for the *Poliſh* Army, which was every Moment increaſing by a Junction of the Peaſants, had beſieged the *Bohemians* in a Wood, and were making Preparations to force them the next Day. *Wratiſlaus*, in this Extremity, diſpatched one of his Officers to propoſe a Pacification, but he was ſent back in a contemptuous Manner; *Boleſlaus* having refuſed to hear the Propoſals he was commiſſion'd to offer. *Wratiſlaus* employ'd all his Thoughts, to extricate himſelf from this unpleaſing Situation, by a Stratagem: He order'd large Fires to be kindled in his Camp, as if he continued there with his whole Army, and while he was favoured with the Darkneſs of the Night, he cauſed

cauſed his Troops and Baggage to defile through narrow Ways that were not guarded; and he quitted the Wood with ſo much Silence, that he had marched to a great Diſtance, before the *Poles* were ſenſible of his Retreat. *Boleſlaus* purſued him in vain, and was obliged to limit his Revenge to ſome Repriſals in *Moravia*.

The King made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for a more compleat Execution of his Reſentment; and marched into *Bohemia*, the next Spring, with all the Forces of *Poland*; but *Wratiſlaus*, foreſeeing that it would be impoſſible for him to oppoſe ſo formidable a Power, had Recourſe to Negotiations, to avert the Storm that was ready to burſt upon him. This Expedient was ſucceſsful, and he obtain'd a Peace, tho' with ſome Difficulty; and in order to render the Alliance between the two Nations more durable, and to diſſipate the Suſpicions that might be created by *Jaromir*'s reſiding in *Poland*, the King gave his Siſter *Swiantochna* in Marriage to *Wratiſlaus*, with a rich Portion: The Nuptials were celebrated at *Cracow* with a Magnificence worthy of the two Princes. 1063.

The *Pruſſians*, who were Tributaries to *Poland*, ſhook off the Yoke, and had the Inſolence to erect a Caſtle on the Frontiers, from whence they made Inroads into the Country. *Boleſlaus*, ineffectually beſieged this Fortreſs, which accommodated theſe Robbers with a Retreat: The advantagious Situation of the Place, and the Courage exerted in its Defenſe, conſtrained him to raiſe the Siege; upon which the Barbarians, elated with their Succeſs, extended their Cruelty and Incurſions to a greater Length. They enter'd *Pomerania*, where they exacted Contributions from the Inhabitants, and conquer'd Part of that Province. Their Method of making War was, by declining

The Defeat of the *Pruſſians*.

clining an Engagement; and whenever the *Poliſh* Army appear'd, they ſhrunk into Woods that were inacceſſible; and when a Deficiency of Proviſions, or the Badneſs of the Seaſon obliged them to retire, they renew'd their Attacks, and always ſignalized themſelves by ſome unmanly Barbarity. *Boleſlaus*, therefore, advanced towards them as ſecretly as poſſible, in order to ſurprize them, and he received Intelligence, that the Enemies, who imagined him to be at a Diſtance from them, were encamped on the Banks of the *Oſſa*. He paſſed that River, without being diſcovered and made a dreadful Slaughter; in Conſequence of which thoſe who ſurvived this bloody Defeat, were compelled to retreat into their own Country, and they then ſubmitted to pay the cuſtomary Tribute.

1065. The *Hungarian* War. The Abſence of *Bela* had not diminiſhed the Affection the *Hungarians* entertained for him. Some of the Nobility maintained a cloſe Correſpondence with that Prince, and had given him ſecret Aſſurances, that they would declare in his Favour, if he would enter *Hungary* with a Body of Troops. Others came to join him in *Poland*, and they repreſented to him, that it was Time to finiſh his Exile, and their own. That the People were deſirous of his Return; that the Nobles would have Recourſe to Arms, the Moment he ſhould appear, and that he was invited to the Throne by all the Suffrages of the Nation. Tho' the preſent Conjunctures did not ſeem favourable to *Bela*, and as the Alliances, which *Andrew* had contracted with the *Germans* and *Bohemians*, made him apprehenſive of the Conjunction of thoſe two Nations, in order to ſuccour their Ally; yet the Sollicitations of the diſaffected Party, and the Diſpoſitions which he imagined

the

the *Hungarians* entertained, made him determine on War; and when he had once form'd that Deſign he purſued the Execution of it with incredible Ardour. His firſt Care was to engage the King of *Poland* to become a Party in that War. *Boleſlaus*, who was paſſionately fond of Glory, and whoſe Inclinations were intirely martial, was eaſily prevail'd upon to undertake it, and the two Princes enter'd *Hungary* with three Armies. *Bela* had formed a Body of Troops out of the Exiles and Diſaffected, who, beſides the Cauſe of their Prince, had their own particular Quarrels to ſuſtain. *Boleſlaus* conducted a ſecond Body, compoſed of all the braveſt Troops in *Poland*, and *Wſzebor*, a *Poliſh* Lord, was at the Head of the third. *Andrew* was ſtill Maſter of more numerous Troops, to oppoſe them, and every Circumſtance of which *Bela* had been apprehenſive, came to paſs. The Emperor *Henry* had aſſiſted the King of *Hungary* with a conſiderable Army, commanded by Count *William*. He was likewiſe aided by the *Bohemians*, under the Conduct of *Conrade* the Brother of their Duke, and *Andrew* himſelf was at the Head of the *Hungarians*, and all the Militia of his Kingdom: But if this Prince had more Soldiers, the Troops of his Enemies were better diſciplin'd, and their Courage was a Compenſation for their Deficiency in Numbers. Each Party therefore entertained Hopes of the Victory, and were equally ſollicitous for an Engagement; they ſoon confronted each other and began the Action with equal Ardor; the *Germans* and *Bohemians* performed Prodigies of Valour, and render'd the Victory uncertain for ſome Hours, but the Treaſon of the *Hungarians* determin'd it in Favour of *Bela:* moſt of the foreign Troops were ſlain, their Chiefs were made Priſoners of War, *Andrew* himſelf was ſeized in his

his Flight, and his perfidious Subjects treated him with ſo much Indignity, that he died in a few Days.

The Revolt of the Peaſants in *Hungary*.

Bela had ſcarce aſcended the Throne of *Hungary*, before the Peaſants revolted. Theſe People, who ſtill retain their Ferocity, carried all things into Extreams: their moſt inconſiderable Movements were ſignaliz'd by ſome Inſtance of Cruelty, and every Part of their Conduct was attended with Horror and Inhumanity: but it is likewiſe as certain, that if their impetuous Diſpoſition was increaſed, by their firſt Succeſs, they were afterwards intimidated by the leaſt Diſadvantage. The Payment of the Tythes, which the Eccleſiaſtics might poſſibly have exacted with too much Rigour, gave Occaſion to this Inſurrection. The Rebels aſſembled themſelves together, and had Recourſe to Arms; they elected Chiefs, plunder'd the Churches, and maſſacred all the Prieſts who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. And when they had aſſociated themſelves by theſe Crimes, they had the Inſolence to preſent themſelves before the King, and to demand, with Threats, the Suppreſſion of the Tythes, and the Abolition of Chriſtianity. All the Nobility and Eccleſiaſtics attended the King, in order to ſhare the Danger: and they obtained from the Rebels a Space of three Days, to anſwer their Demands. The King employed that Time in forming the proper Meaſures to make them return to their Duty, and to tame their Fury, and he was join'd by a Body of Troops who were capable of ſuppreſſing this confuſed Multitude. The Ringleaders of the Sedition were ſeized, and put to Death, by ſevere Torments, in the Preſence of the People; and their Puniſhment infuſed ſuch a Terror into the reſt of the Mutineers, that they were diſperſed

diſperſed with as much Facility as they at firſt aſſembled together.

When the *Hungarian* Expedition was over, 1067. *Boleſlaus* was induced, by the Sollicitations of the Nobility, to eſpouſe a Princeſs of *Ruſſia* named *Wiſzeſlava*, but this Marriage was effected, more by the political Ambition of the King, than any particular Inclination to the Lady. *Ruſſia* had, in Fact, been conquer'd by his Anceſtor *Boleſlaus* the Great, and had not ſhook off the Domination of *Poland* 'till the Reign of the weak *Mieczſlaus*, and in Conſequence of the favourable Conjunctures that were preſented to them by the civil Wars, which were kindled after the Death of that Prince. *Mary*, the Daughter of *Jaroſlaus*, and Mother of *Boleſlaus* the Second, had given him an inconteſtable Right to Part of thoſe Territories, and in order to corroborate his Pretenſions, he eſpouſed *Wiſzeſlava*, who had likewiſe ſome Title to them herſelf. But the ſecret and moſt powerful Motive to this War, was the noble Jealouſy which *Boleſlaus* entertain'd of the Glory of his great Anceſtor, and he was ambitious to obliterate his Memory by his own Conqueſts, or, at leaſt, to equal him; and this Prince would have ſucceeded in that Deſign, if his Moderation had correſponded with his Courage. He wanted neither Troops, nor Money, nor Proviſions, and he had the Dexterity to employ the *Ruſſians* themſelves in the Conqueſt of their Country, by engaging in the Defence of *Zaſlaus* Duke of *Kiovia*, who had been chaſed from his Dominions by his own Subjects, and who greatly contributed to their Defeat. *Wiſſeſlaus*, Duke of *Poloczk*, who had uſurped the Duchy of *Kiovia*, had a numerous Army of *Ruſſians*, and *Walaques*, to oppoſe *Boleſlaus*; he even

The Conqueſt of *Ruſſia*.

marched againſt him to prevent his Entrance into his Dominions, and with an Intention to attack him; but he was intimidated at the firſt View of the *Poliſh* Troops; he was aſtoniſhed at the Multitude and Order of his Enemies, and he privately quitted his Camp, in order to retire to *Poloczk*, with a ſmall Retinue. The ſame Conſternation ſeized the *Ruſſians*, who, when they beheld themſelves deſtitute of a Chief, quitted their Poſts, and intirely diſperſed themſelves. The *Poles* at firſt ſuſpected that this Appearance of Flight, concealed ſome Ambuſh, and, tho' the Enemies were no longer viſible, the King order'd the ſame Guard to be kept, as if they actually confronted him, and would not permit any one Soldier to make Excurſions, in order to pillage. He advanced, by ſmall Marches, towards *Kiovia*, with a Reſolution to conquer it, either by gentle Methods or by Force of Arms; when he received Intelligence that the Inhabitants of that City, finding themſelves abandon'd by their Duke, had ſent a Deputation to *Suanteſlaus* and *Wſzevold*, his Brothers, to implore their Aſſiſtance, and to acquaint them, that if they were not provided with Forces ſufficient to repel the *Poles*, they could liſten to nothing but the Language of their Deſpair, and that they would ſooner chooſe to fire their City, and retire into the Dominions of the *Grecian* Emperor, with their Wives and Children, than to become the Prey of their moſt implacable Enemies. This Deputation was favourably received by the two Dukes, who anſwer'd the Envoys, that they would engage *Zaſlaus* to pardon them, if they would ſubmit themſelves, and that if he rejected their Mediation, they would march with all their Forces to relieve *Kiovia*.

In

In the mean Time, *Suantoſlaus* and *Wzevold*, ſent to aſſure *Boleſlaus* and *Zaſlaus*, of the Obedience of the *Kiovians*, and to ſollicit them not to treat that People as Rebels, ſince they repented of their Revolt. The King acquieſced with this Propoſal, and immediately ſuſpended all Acts of Hoſtility; but in order to be certain that this Negotiation was conducted with Sincerity, and that the Submiſſion of the *Kiovians* was real, he cauſed *Mieſlaus*, the Son of *Zaſlaus*, to advance with a ſmall Body of *Poliſh* Troops, while he himſelf followed with the Remainder of the Army. *Kiovia* open'd its Gates to the young Prince, and received him with all imaginable Marks of Submiſſion. *Boleſlaus* and *Zaſlaus* made their Entrance ſoon after the Prince, and the Capture of this great City was the more glorious, as the Terror created by their March, had cauſed the Gates to be thrown open, without making it neceſſary for them to ſhed the Blood of the Inhabitants.

Zaſlaus made himſelf Maſter of *Poloczk* with the ſame Facility. The puſillanimous *Wiſſlaus* had retired into that City after he had abandon'd *Kiovia*. *Zaſlaus* enter'd it without the Loſs of one Man, and conſigned the Government of it to his Son *Suantopeclk*.

The *Poliſh* Troops were diſpoſed into Winter Quarters, in the Parts adjacent to *Kiovia*, and *Zaſlaus* plentifully ſupplied them with Forage and all other Proviſions neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. *Boleſlaus* took the Field again, as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit him, and made his firſt Efforts in the Parts that were contiguous to the River *San*, in black *Ruſſia*. Moſt of the Cities ſubmitted without the leaſt Reſiſtance, and he made himſelf Maſter of thoſe which had the Preſumption to ſuſtain a Siege. *Przemyſl* or *Premiſly*

was, at that Time, the beſt fortified and the richeſt of all the Cities in thoſe Territories. The Inhabitants of the adjacent Country retired to it in Crowds, in Hopes that its Ramparts would furniſh them with an Aſylum, from the victorious Army. The *Sun*, or *Sana* whoſe Source is at the Foot of the Mountains of *Krapack*, and whoſe Waters are diſcharged into the *Viſtula* between *Sandomir*, and *Zawichoſt*, flowed into the Ditches of that Place, and this River being then increaſed by Winter Rains, render'd the City more difficult of Acceſs. It was even impracticable to form the Siege before the Waters were abated. *Boleſlaus* engaged in it with his uſual Ardour; and daily gain'd Ground, in Conſequence of which, the Inhabitants were obliged to ſhut themſelves up within their Ramparts. They at laſt had the Reſolution to ſally from the Place, but the Attempt proved ineffectual. Amidſt the Surprize created by that Action, they even penetrated into the Camp, but the Moment the King appear'd, they were ſtruck with Conſternation, and were repulſed with ſo conſiderable a Loſs, that, the braveſt Defenders of the Place being either ſlain or taken Priſoners, the reſt of the Garriſon were no longer capable of oppoſing their Enemies. The King, after this Action, cauſed a general Aſſault to be made on three different Quarters; the ſmall Number of *Ruſſians* were incapable of ſuſtaining the Impetuoſity of thoſe Attacks, and therefore retired into the Citadel, rather with a View of obtaining an advantageous Capitulation, than for any Defence of the Place, and they accordingly ſurrendred in a few Days.

Another Expedition into Bohemia.

Boleſlaus thought it incumbent on him to diſcontinue the War, which he had commenced with ſo much Succeſs, in order to ſuccour his Allies,

ies, and his Generoſity inclined him to prefer
ir Intereſt to the Glory of acquiring Conqueſts.
la, King of *Hungary*, had been buried ſome
me before, under the Ruins of his Palace, and
l left *Geiſa*, *Uladiſlaus*, and *Lambert*, his Sons,
his Succeſſors: But *Solomon* the Son of *Andrew*,
ng ſupported by the Emperor, entred *Hunga-*
after the Death of *Bela*, and as the *Hungarians*
naturally inconſtant, they were eaſily induced
acknowledge the ſtrongeſt Power, in Conſe-
ence of which they drove the Sons of *Bela*
m their Territories. *Boleſlaus* quitted *Premiſly*,
ſoon as he receiv'd this Intelligence, and ad-
nced to the Aſſiſtance of the Princes, in Op-
ſition to the Remonſtrances of his Officers,
o were diſpleaſed to leave ſo amiable a Con-
eſt imperfect. His Arrival intirely changed
Aſpect of Affairs in *Hungary*, and he was
'd by a great Body of the Nobility, who were
irous of reſtoring their former Princes. *So-*
on, diſtruſting the Fidelity of the People, re-
d with the Remains of his foreign Troops,
o the Fortreſs of *Muſzur*, which was rendred
oſt impregnable by its Situation and Fortifi-
ions. The preparatory Diſpoſitions that were
eſſary to be made, for ſo difficult a Siege,
pended, for a ſhort Seaſon, the Animoſity of
two Parties, and the Biſhops improved this
nd of Truce, by the Propoſal of an Accom-
dation. Their good Offices proved ſucceſs-
, and a Peace was concluded between the *Hun-*
ian Princes; after which the indefatigable *Bo-*
laus marched immediately to *Ruſſia*, where
Preſence was render'd neceſſary by new Con-
Stirs.

Abſence, *Zaſlaus* had embroiled 1073. The Event of the Ruſſian War.
uantoſlaus, and *Wſzevold*, his Bro-
thers,

thers, who had chaſed him a ſecond Time from *Kiovia*. *Boleſlaus* thought himſelf obliged, in Honour, to reeſtabliſh this Prince who was his ancient Friend; for which Reaſon, when he had taken proper Precautions for the Security of *Premiſlia*, the Fortifications of which he cauſed to be repaired, he advanced farther into *Ruſſia*, and, in order to conceal his March, took the Rout of *Kiovia* or *Kiow*, which he ſeem'd determin'd to beſiege; but he ſuddenly wheel'd about into the Territories of *Wlodimirow*, which now compoſe the Palatinates of *Luſac* and *Chelm*. The Country is fertile, and nouriſhes a large Quantity of Cattle. *Boleſlaus* ravaged all this Tract, and when he had tranſmitted the Spoils into *Poland*, he form'd the Siege of *Wolyn*, the chief Fortreſs in that Country. The Place held out for the Space of Six Months, againſt all the Efforts of the *Poliſh* Army, and at laſt ſubmitted to the Promiſes of *Boleſlaus*, rather than to the Force of his Arms. *Gregory*, Prince of *Wlodimirow* and *Chelm*, was alarmed at the taking of that ſtrong Place, and, amidſt his Apprehenſions for his own Dominions, ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and gave him Hoſtages.

1074. The Defeat of *Wſzevold*.

When this Expedition was compleated, *Boleſlaus* marched againſt *Kiovia*, the Capital of *Ruſſia*. *Wſzevold* was then Maſter of that City, and when he received Intelligence of the Approach of the *Poliſh* Army, this Prince, whoſe Troops were augmented by their Conjunction with the Fugitives from *Wolyn* and the other conquered Countries, advanced to give Battle to his Enemies. He gallantly diſputed the Victory, which coſt the *Poles* almoſt as much as if they had been defeated, ſo that they were unable to attempt any other Enterprize during the Remainder of that Campaign.

Boleſlaus

Beleſlaus returned to *Poland* with immenſe Spoils, and he determined to make new Levies, and begin the War afreſh the ſucceeding Spring.

He accordingly opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Kiovia*, and the Defendants were perpetually making vigorous Sallies, that reſembled compleat Battles; for all the boldeſt of the *Ruſſians* had thrown themſelves into the City, with a Reſolution either to defend it, or periſh in the Attempt. But notwithſtanding all their Reſiſtance, the Beſiegers continued their Approaches to the Place; erected Machines, open'd a Breach, and made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for a general Aſſault. But the King being informed by Deſerters, that the Place began to be deſtitute of Proviſions, and that the numerous Body of its Defenders, who were there ſhut up, would ſoon conſume the Remainder of the Corn, did not think it neceſſary to hazard the Lives of his Soldiers, in taking a City whoſe Gates would be ſoon opened to him by Famine. His whole Attention was therefore employed in blocking up the Avenues, and ſecuring his Camp, that the Beſieged might neither receive any Succours, nor be in a Condition to attempt a Sally. The Quarters poſſeſſed by the *Poliſh* Army, formed a ſecond Town, that was better fortified than the Place beſieged. The Guards were poſted there with the utmoſt Vigilance, and while ſome particular Parties made Excurſions into the Country, in order to diſcover and repel the Enemy, the King, who confined himſelf to his Camp, was attentive to its Security, and the Conduct of the Siege. *Kiovia* ſuffer'd the laſt Extremities, moſt of the Commonality periſhed by Famine, which in a ſhort Time ſwept off Rich and Poor without Diſtinction. The Beſieged, being at laſt reduced to an inconſiderable Number, demanded a Capitulation,

pitulation, or, more properly, they ſurrendered the City at Diſcretion, to the Conqueror. The King afforded their Envoys a favourable Reception, and immediately ſigned the Capitulation, with ſuch Conditions as they could never have preſumed to expect.

1076. *Boleſlaus* marched into the City, at the Head of all his Troops, and made it his Glory to imitate the Entrance of his Anceſtor *Boleſlaus* the Great, into that Place. The Capitulation was ſtrictly obſerved, and the leaſt Inſtance of Plunder was ſeverely puniſhed. The City was recruited with Corn and other Proviſions, and the King reeſtabliſhed *Zyſimus*, rather as a Governour of a *Poliſh* Province, than an independent Prince.

Boleſlaus abandons himſelf to Pleaſure. *Kiovia* was, at that Time, the moſt voluptuous City in all the North; the *Greeks*, whoſe Rites in Religion the Inhabitants had embraced, had imparted to them their Taſte for Debaucheries. The Effeminacy of the conquer'd People corrupted the *Poliſh* Army, and wreſted from them all the Fruits of their Victory. *Boleſlaus*, who had always been indefatigable, temperate, and eaſy of Acceſs till then, abandoned himſelf to all the Vices, which are the uſual Concomitants of Proſperity. Humanity, Gentleneſs of Diſpoſition, and that Fortitude of Mind, which had braved the Shock of innumerable Dangers, entirely diſappeared amidſt the Luxury of *Kiovia*. He affected all the imperious State of Kings, and degenerated into a Relish for the moſt degrading Debaucheries. An inſupportable Pride, and a Courſe of unnatural Paſſions, ſucceeded that Moderation and Wiſdom which he had before diſcovered. His Soldiers were ſoon infected with the ſame Vices, and the Riches, that were the Fruit of their Victories, were only inſtrumental to their Imi-

of their Prince's Paſſions: *Poland*, therefore, loſt

oſt more than ever it had acquired by the Conqueſt of a Country that proved ſo fatal to the Victors.

The *Ruſſian* War had employed the *Poles* for the Space of almoſt Seven Years, and this long Abſence filled their Country with ſuch ſtrange Diſorders as will hardly be render'd credible, even by the Authority of Hiſtory it ſelf. The *Poliſh* Women were ſo exaſperated at the unjuſt Preference their Huſbands gave the *Kiovians* over them, that they unanimouſly reſolved on a memorable Revenge, and reſigned themſelves, by the moſt ſingular Conſpiracy, to the Embraces of their Slaves. This Fury paſſed from the Mothers to their Daughters; the whole Sex were involved in a publick Proſtitution, and covered their Fathers and Huſbands, with the ſame Degree of Shame. There was only one Lady on whom neither Abſence, nor the Infidelity of her Huſband, were capable of making any Impreſſion; Hiſtory has tranſmitted her Name to Poſterity; *Margaret* the Wife of Count *Nicholas* of *Zemboczin* was this faithful Wife, who had no Share in the common Diſhonour.

The Tydings of ſo publick and unanimous a Revenge, ſoon reached *Kiovia*, where it kindled Jealouſy in all its Rage. The Soldiers imputed their Diſhonour to the King, the Camp was in Commotion, and all the Army proclaimed aloud, that *Ruſſia* was ſufficiently avenged; and that the *Poles* had obtain'd no other Fruit from their Victories, than the inglorious Opportunity of returning into their Country, with Ignominy painted on their Brows, and alſo with the Cuſtom and Vices of the People they had vanquiſhed. They likewiſe added, that *Boleſlaus* deſpiſed them, and reſerved his Affability for the *Ruſſians* whom he had defeated, inſtead of affording it to thoſe brave Soldiers who had enabled him to conquer; and that he was degenerated, from a King of *Poland*, to

to a Slave of *Zaſlaus*. Theſe Expreſſions ſoon accompliſhed their Effect; the greateſt Part of the Army deſerted, and the *Poles*, preferring their Impatience for a ſpeedy Vengeance, to the Duty they owed their King, left him alone in an Enemies Country.

The *Poliſh* Women had endeavoured to ſecure themſelves from the Reſentment of their Huſbands, by inſpiring their deſpicable Lovers with Courage enough to take up Arms, in order to oppoſe the Conquerors of *Ruſſia*, and indeed the whole Country was confederated in one Revolt. The Slaves ſiez'd the Places of greateſt Strength, and ſuſtain'd a War and ſeveral Sieges from their Maſters. Deſpair and the Apprehenſion of Puniſhment, actuated their Minds, in the Room of Valour, and they defended themſelves to the laſt Extremity. They were ſeconded by their Wives, with equal Ardour; ſeveral of theſe Women join'd themſelves to the Battalions of the Men, and fought for their Huſbands in the Confuſion of the Skirmiſh; they were animated with a Fury that has no Parallel, and they added Parricide to Adultery. One Father deſtroyed his own Daughter, who was attempting to plunge a Dagger into his Boſom, and another lay bleeding with the Wounds he had received from her who was indebted to him for her Life. Thoſe who were weakeſt, and leaſt courageous, were employed in aſſiſting the Wounded, and animating the Combatants, either to repair their ancient Fortifications, or to erect new. It ſeem'd as if they had been to encounter their moſt cruel Enemies, and the *Poles* found as much Difficulty in defeating their own Wives, as [illegible] experienced in conquering the *Ruſ-*

Time, *Boleſlaus* arrived with the Reoops, and with a Reſolution to chaſtiſe,

chaſtiſe, with equal Severity, thoſe criminal Women, and their Huſbands, whoſe Jealouſy had ſpirited them up to abandon his Deſigns, in order to gratify their Revenge. The Puniſhment was inflicted with too much Rigour, and became a Scene of Barbarity. Several Thouſand Women, and their Children, were maſſacred by the expreſs Command of the King, and the Soldiers, who had quitted their Camp, were treated with the ſame Inhumanity. Their Leaders were puniſhed with Death, for a Crime which was render'd excuſable by their Regard to their Honour. Several were thrown into diſmal Dungeons, and the greateſt Number were diveſted of all their Effects.

1077. Troubles in the Church, on the Subject of Inveſtitures.

The Church was, at that Time, rent by the fatal Quarrels that aroſe between the Emperors and the Popes. The former of theſe claim'd the Prerogative of creating the Sovereign Pontiffs, or at leaſt, of confirming their Election; and the Popes were ſo far from acknowledging this Right, that they pretended they had a Power to deprive the Emperors of the Diſpoſition of Benefices, in the Territories that were ſubject to their Authority. *Henry* IV. had already been diſguſted at the Election of *Alexander* the Second, at *Rome*, without his Conſent; but tho' he had nominated the Biſhop of *Parma*, who aſſumed the Name of *Honorius* the Second, to the See of *Rome*, the Election of *Alexander*, had been adjudged canonical, and he was accordingly acknowledged. This Pope, having afterwards enter'd into a League with the *Saxons* and *Bavarians*, had received an Accuſation of Simony againſt the Emperor, and cited him to appear at *Rome*. *Hildebrand* his Succeſſor, who was called *Gregory* the Seventh, carried things into greater Extreams, for he excommunicated and depoſed *Henry*. The Emperor was obliged, at

firſt

firſt, to ſubmit, but he ſoon placed himſelf in a Condition to vindicate his Rights. The Biſhops of *Lombardy* ſet up *Gilbert* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, who took the Name of *Clement* III. againſt *Gregory*: The Emperor advanced into *Italy* with an Army, made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, enthroned his pretended Pope in the Chair of St. *Peter*, and beſieged *Gregory* with his Cardinals, in Caſtle St. *Angelo*, into which they had retired. Their Thunders were all unavailing, and they would ſoon have fallen into the Hands of an incenſed Prince, if they had not implored the Aſſiſtance of the ſame *Normans*, whom they had lately loaded with Anathemas.

Robert Guiſcard had ſent his Brother *Roger*, to conquer *Sicily*, which was then held as a Fief of the *Roman* See. *Roger*, when he had taken *Meſſina* and *Palermo*, made himſelf Maſter of the whole Iſland. *Gregory* VII. had excommunicated theſe Princes, as Uſurpers of the Patrimony of St. *Peter*; but as he needed their Aſſiſtance in his preſent Emergency, he was very liberal of his Benedictions to them, becauſe he now conſider'd them as his Friends and Avengers. When the Excommunication was vacated, *Guiſcard* advanced to *Rome* with his brave *Normans*, obliged the Emperor to have Recourſe to Flight, and deliver'd the Pope, who retired to *Salernum* where he died.

Staniſlaus Biſhop of *Cracow*, maſſacred by *Boleſlaus*.

The Diſſentions in *Poland*, between the Sovereign and the Eccleſiaſtic Powers, were equally impetuous. As *Boleſlaus* had abandoned himſelf to Cruelty and Injuſtice, he overwhelmed his People with Taxes; plunged himſelf into all the Exceſs of the moſt criminal Debaucheries, and polluted his Character with Tyranny and Sacrilege. *Staniſlaus*, Biſhop of *Cracow*, conceiving himſelf obliged, in Duty, to reprove his Sovereign for the ſhocking

ſhocking Courſe of his inordinate Conduct, intimated his firſt Expoſtulations to him in private, but to no Effect; and when his publick Remonſtrances were afterwards as unavailing as the former, the undaunted Prelate had Recourſe to Excommunication, as his laſt Expedient. This he thunder'd forth in the Preſence of the King himſelf, and pronounced it before the People, in the Cathedral Church of *Cracow*. The King expreſſed his Reſentment in the ſevereſt Menaces; he ſolemnly vowed to revenge the Indignity he had ſuſtained, and had certainly ſlain *Staniſlaus* upon the Spot, if he had not immediately withdrawn himſelf from his Rage.

The pious Prelate concealed himſelf for the Space of a Year; but when he was informed that *Boleſlaus* perſevered in his Debaucheries, and aſſiſted at Divine Service, in Contempt of the Excommunication, he quitted his Retreat in the Fervours of his Zeal, he returned to his Church, and refuſed Admittance to the King who was preparing to enter it. He reproached him with his Crimes, his Impenitency, and his Contempt for the Thunders of the Church, and he denounced the Excommunication anew. The Prince was checkt by ſome Remains of Reverence, for that ſacred Place; but he only ſpared *Staniſlaus*, till he could have the firſt Opportunity of deſtroying him, without incurring any Riſque.

An Opportunity of this Nature was ſoon preſented to him. *Staniſlaus* had no Guards, but the Sanctity of his Life, the Luſtre of his Vertues, and the Veneration of the People. The King receiving Intelligence that he was celebrating Maſs in a ſmall Oratory, into which he had retired with a few Prieſts, diſpatched a Party of Soldiers thither, with orders to aſſaſſinate him. The Majeſtic Air of the Prelate ſuſpended the

Vigour

Vigour of their Arms, or, if we may credit the *Poliſh* Hiſtorian, they were ſtruck to the Earth, and render'd Motionleſs by ſome Celeſtial Power. Thrice did the King ſend a Band of Murderers to this Place of Devotion, and they as often returned, without executing the Orders of that impious Prince. He loaded them with a thouſand Reproaches for their puſilanimous Heſitation, and then reſolved to accompliſh his Barbarity with his own Dagger. *Staniſlaus* was drag'd from the Altar; the King gave him the firſt Stab; and the Soldiers were ſo harden'd by his Example, that they immediately aſſaulted the Biſhop, and hewed him in Pieces; after which, they ſcatter'd his mangled Limbs in different Places, to prevent the People from paying a Reverence to thoſe precious Remains. Notwithſtanding which, ſome pious Perſons charged themſelves with the charitable Care of collecting them together, and they were privately depoſited in a Tomb, which they prepared, for that Purpoſe, under the Threſhold of the Door that open'd into the Oratory.

This Crime was ſoon ſucceeded by Vengeance; the Biſhops poured forth their Complaints to the Pope, and demanded a Puniſhment ſuitable to the Guilt of the Aſſaſſin. The Thunder which was launched from *Rome* was terrible, and it even blaſted the Throne of *Poland*. *Gregory* VII. who was then ſeated in St. *Peter*'s Chair, found ſufficient Matter for the Exerciſe of an implacable Zeal, which involved the Prince and People in its bitter Effects. *Poland* was charged with a general Interdict, which the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* cauſed to be obſerved with the utmoſt Strictneſs. It loſt the Appellation of a Kingdom, *Boleſlaus* was deprived of the Title of King, and his Subjects were abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance. The Pope

Pope even prohibited the Metropolitan of *Poland* and his Suffragans, from crowning another King, without the Conſent and Orders of the *Roman* See. The Nobility and Soldiers, who had aſſiſted at the Aſſaſſination of the pious Biſhop, were deprived of their Effects; and their Children were render'd incapable of poſſeſſing any Eccleſiaſtic or Secular Promotion, to the fourth Generation. Thus did this Pope think himſelf authorized, by the Crimes of Princes, to commit thoſe that were more enormous, by inciting Subjects to rebel againſt their Sovereigns, and by diſconcerting the Government of States.

In vain did *Boleſlaus* oppoſe his Authority againſt the Execution of the Pope's Decree, the Underſtandings of People were clouded by an empty Shadow of Religion, which cauſed them to think it criminal to obey their lawful Prince. An excommunicated King became a Monſter and an Object of Execration to their View. Diviſions were created by the Ceſſation of Divine Service; Cabals were formed by the Nobility; *Ruſſia* ſhook off her Yoke; and every one either abandoned *Boleſlaus*, or formed a Conſpiracy againſt him. 1080, 1081. *Boleſlaus* is obliged to quit *Poland*, and dies miſerably.

This unfortunate Prince no longer thought himſelf ſafe in his own Dominions; and he was obliged, for the Preſervation of his Life, to retire into *Hungary*, with his only Son, *Mieczſlaus*. *Wratiſlaus*, the Son of *Bela*, entertain'd him in his Court, with all imaginable Marks of Honour: but the Pope ſtill purſued him to that Retreat, and ſpirited all the Eccleſiaſtics and People againſt him; inſomuch that he was compelled to quit *Hungary*, and conceal himſelf, in order to be ſecured from their Fury. Some Hiſtorians aſſure us, that he died in a Monaſtery in *Carinthia*, where, according

ing to them, he exerciſed the mean Employment of a Cook. Others relate that he was killed, as he was hunting in the Foreſts of *Hungary*.

The Character of *Boleſlaus.*

This Prince was valiant, and, in this Quality, he perhaps ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors. As he propoſed his Anceſtor *Boleſlaus* the Great, for his Model, he began with re-conquering all the Territories *Poland* had loſt, ſince the Death of that Monarch, and his next Intention was to ſubdue all the North. He wanted neither Courage, nor Prudence, to accompliſh that great Plan, and he would certainly have ſucceeded, if he had not been dazzled with the Luſtre of his own Glory. He was naturally vertuous, temperate, and affable; he a while was the Father of his People, and diffuſed Liberality and Magnificence as far as they were capable of being extended. With how much generoſity did he receive ſeveral Princes, who had been expelled from their own Dominions, and who implored his Protection? With how much Ardour did he ſupport their Intereſt, when he undertook their Defence? He marched into *Hungary*, with no other View than to reſtore the Sovereign to his People, and he was more deſirous to ſee a Crown on the Head of his Friend, than on his own. His Clemency to the Conquer'd was extraordinary. The *Kiovians* eaſily excited his Compaſſion, and he conſider'd them rather as his natural Subjects, than as vanquiſhed Enemies, the Moment he became Maſter of their City. If we therefore conſider the Conduct of *Boleſlaus* in an impartial Light, we may affirm, that Nature had furniſhed him with all the Vertues of a Hero, and that the Heart of this Prince was corrupted by an Exceſs of Proſperity, which tainted him with the Vices of a Tyrant. Pride and Effeminacy ſtole upon him after a Series of Victories. His Liberality degenerated into Luxury

ury and profuſion, and he overwhelmed his People with a Weight of Taxes, in order to ſupply his uſeleſs and immoderate Expences. The Guſt he had conceived for the moſt extravagant Debaucheries, and for ſuch Pleaſures as were contrary to Nature, render'd him impious in the Event. He was unable to bear the Remonſtrances and ſalutary Expoſtulations of a Prelate, venerable for the Sanctity of his Manners, and whoſe Zeal obliged him to oppoſe himſelf againſt the degrading Vices of his Sovereign. In a Word, the Height of Impiety, in Conjunction with abſolute Power, render'd *Boleſlaus* unjuſt and inhuman, and cauſed him to perpetrate an enormous Crime, which coſt him his Crown and Life.

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND.*

BOOK II.

The Change effected in the Government.

THE Aſſaſſination of the Biſhop of *Cracow* cauſed a total change in the *Poliſh* Government. *Gregory* VII. depoſed *Boleſlaus*, as we have already obſerved, and this Pontif, who delighted in trampling on Crowns, and ſevering the ſacred Ties, that ought to unite Princes and their Subjects, had, by the ſame Brief, prohibited the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, the Metropolitan of all *Poland*, from Crowning another King; and it may be ſaid, to the Misfortune of this Nation, that he was obeyed too well. The *Poles* were ſtill ſo inexperient as to regard the Meaſures taken by the Court of *Rome*, as ſo many inconteſtible Prero-

Prerogatives, which could not be invaded without a Crime. They had already render'd an implicit Submiſſion to the Tax called St. *Peter*'s Pence, and as they thus bowed their Necks under the Yoke of a formidable Pope, they received, without a Murmur, the Bull which overturned a Throne that depended on God alone. The Republic of *Poland* ſuſtained an irreparable Prejudice, and the People were plunged into the utmoſt Calamities. The Sovereignty was transferred to Dukes, whoſe Children afterwards divided the Provinces among them, by Right of Succeſſion. Each City had a Maſter, or rather a Tyrant. The State loſt the Force of an united Body, governed by one Head, and the Provinces, being detached from the Kingdom, and render'd independent of each other, as they were formed out of the Ruins of the Monarchy, were no more than the Shaddow of the ancient Kingdom of *Poland*.

Uladiſlaus, Brother of *Boleſlaus*, was his Succeſſor, under the Title of Duke, and without daring to aſſume that of King, for fear of incenſing the Pope. This Prince was devoted to Religion, and his firſt Care, after his Election, was to ſend a memorable Embaſſy to *Rome*, to demand the Abolition of the Interdict, with the Rigour of which all *Poland* was oppreſt. The Pope ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevailed upon by the Submiſſion of the *Poles*, and was inclinable to grant the Requeſt, and he was likewiſe induced, by the Sollicitations of the new Duke, to confirm the Election of *Lambert*, who was choſen by the Chapter of *Cracow*, to ſucceed St. *Staniſlaus* *Bohemia* had acquir- he ation of which *Poland* was diveſted, and ne Duke of that Country, having taken

1081, 1082. *Uladiſlaus* Duke of *Poland*.

a Journey to ſalute the Emepror *Henry* IV. at the Diet of *Mentz*, obtain'd the Regalia from him, by vertue of Preſents, and the Archbiſhop of *Treves* Crowned him at *Prague*, by the Emperor's Order.

1091 *Ruſſia* had already ſhaken off the Yoke, and the *Poles* were entirely chaſed from thoſe Territories. This Revolt drew after it that of *Pruſſia* and *Pomerania*. *Uladiſlaus* Duke of *Poland* ſoon compelled theſe Provinces to return to their Duty: A fatal Defeat had obliged them to acknowledge the Conqueror, and they ſeem'd to teſtify an Air of Submiſſion; but as ſoon as the Duke had withdrawn his Troops, theſe fierce People took up Arms anew, with more Fury than before. They always declined a Battle, and found a ſafe Aſylum, for themſelves, their Wives and Children, in the thick Receſſes of their Foreſts. They intereſted themſelves but little in the Defence of their Country, and they eaſily tranſported their Effects with them, leaving nothing for a Prey to their Enemy. *Uladiſlaus*, being uncertain where he ought to fix the Seat of War, received Intelligence, that they had aſſembled in the City of *Nakiel*, which they had choſen for their ſecret Rendezvous, in order to make a ſudden Irruption into *Poland*, when its Attention ſhould be engaged elſewhere. The Duke, hereupon, advanced with the utmoſt Expedition to that Place, but Fortune was unfavourable to his Deſigns, and a fatal Miſtake occaſioned his Defeat. The Camp was ſurrounded with thick Buſhes, which, by the Light of the Moon, preſented the *Poles* with the Appearance of a numerous Army, brandiſhing a Foreſt of Pikes; they likewiſe miſtook the violent Agitation of the Branches by the Wind, for the clattering of Arms, and the Noiſe occaſion'd by the rolling

rolling of Charriots. They armed themſelves, therefore, with the utmoſt Precipitation, in order to confront theſe pretended Foes. The Night, in Conjunction with this Surpriſe, cauſed a great Diſorder among them; all the Troops quitted the Camp, with more Courage than Prudence, and whilſt they were advancing to engage an imaginary Foe, the Beſieged made a vigrous Sally, deſtroyed the Trenches, overthrew the Paliſades of the Camp, ſet Fire to the Tents and military Machines, and killed a great Number of *Poles*, who in vain haſten'd to extinguiſh the Flames, and ſave their Baggage. This Action obliged *Uladiſlaus* to raiſe the Siege in a diſhonourable Manner, but he effectually avenged himſelf the enſuing Year; the Rebels ſubmitted to his Authority, and gave him Hoſtages.

This Prince had two Sons; *Boleſlaus* whoſe Birth was legitimate, and *Sbigna*, a natural Son. Great Hopes were conceived of the firſt; and he had already ſignalized himſelf by ſeveral gallant Actions, at an Age hardly ſufficient for ſuſtaining the Weight of Arms. The Favour of the People, and the Right he derived from his Birth, cauſed him to be conſidered as his Father's ſole Heir. *Uladiſlaus* intended *Sbigna* for an eccleſiaſtic Station, and, in order to diſpoſe of him agreeably to that Intention, he had ſent him into *Saxony*, where the young Prince was ſhut up in a Monaſtery. The *Poliſh* Exiles, together with ſome of the Nobility, whoſe hatred to the Palatine of *Cracow*, the Duke's Favourite, had cauſed them to retire from *Poland*, endeavoured to make *Sbigna* inſtrumental to their Return into [illegible] to avenge them for the [illegible] d been offered them, by The young Prince, having

Troubles excited by *Sbigna*, a natural Son of *Uladiſlaus*.

ing, therefore, been taken from the Monaſtery, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of the Monks, the Exiles placed him at their Head, with an Intention to make themſelves Maſters of *Wratiſlaw*. The Conjunctures were then favourable to their Deſign, for this City is ſeated on the Frontiers of *Bohemia*, from whence they could be ſupplied with all Manner of Succours. They were likewiſe ſenſible, that the Governour of that Place had lately received ſome ill Treatment from the Palatine of *Cracow*, and they were in Hopes of gaining him over to their Party without any Difficulty. With this Perſuaſion they advanced towards *Wratiſlaw*, without committing any Act of Hoſtility, and when they had made a near Approach to the City, they diſpatched ſome of their Body to the Governour, in order to obtain a Conference with him, and which he conſented to grant. The Confederates made a lively Repreſentation of the Calamities that were occaſioned by the tyrannical Conduct of the Tyrant. They likewiſe repreſented to him, that they were all *Poles* by Birth, and alſo his Friends, or Relations; that they had not approached the City with an hoſtile Intention, but rather as Supplicants for an Aſylum there; and that it was incumbent on him, before his Refuſal of that Favour, to take Notice that they were headed by a Prince who would one Day be his Sovereign; and laſtly, that he ought to be apprehenſive of his own Danger, and it was their mutual Intereſt to ſecure themſelves from the Vengeance of the Palatine, by whom they were all equally perſecuted.

The Governor began to heſitate in his Fidelity, but was not immediately brought over to their Sentiments. He was dubious of the Conduct he ought to purſue, and was ſometimes influenced by the

the Oath he had taken to his Prince, and ſometimes by his Antipathy to the Miniſter: he therefore addreſſed himſelf to the Inhabitants, and deſired their Advice in this Conjuncture. The apprehenſions they entertained of a Siege, and their Inclination to Novelty, created in them thoſe Sentiments that were moſt agreeable to the Governor's Diſpoſition, and they eaſily prevailed upon him to open the Gates to *Sbigna*. He accordingly complied with their Propoſal, in Conſequence of which, he gave that Prince Poſſeſſion of the Citadel, and ſupplied his Troops with Proviſions, with this Proviſo, that he would agree to retire, if *Uladiſlaus* ſhould iſſue any Order to that Effect, and that nothing ſhould be attempted, injurious to the Authority of the Sovereign, or inconſiſtent with the Reſpect they owed him.

Uladiſlaus was aſhamed at what had been tranſacted at *Wratiſlaw*, and he immediately took the Field; but *Sbigna* and his Exiles made their Retreat, before his Arrival, with a View, rather to withdraw themſelves from the Fury of the Palatine, than to fly from the Preſence of their Prince, with whoſe Clemency and Vertue they were well acquainted. *Uladiſlaus* met with no Oppoſition, and the Governor of *Wratiſlaw*, who had received the Exiles not with any Diſpoſition to a Revolt, made no Preparation for his Defence, tho' he was Maſter of ſufficient Forces for ſuſtaining a Siege, and had all the Garriſon at his Devotion. He cauſed the Duke to be aſſured of his Fidelity, and delivered up the Place to him, without the leaſt Heſitation. *Sbigna* found a Sanctuary in *Cruſvicia*, where he received Succours from the *Poneranians* and *Pruſſians*; and he then had the Preſumption to attack his Father. Fortune, however, was unfavourable to his Enſigns; *Sbigna*

was defeated, and his Party diſperſed. *Cruſvicia* ſuſtain'd a fatal Siege in his Favour, and this great City was ſo entirely laid in Ruins, as to be only known at preſent, by the Remembrance of its ancient Condition. *Sbigna* fell into the Hands of his Father, who immediately impriſoned him, but was afterwards prevailed upon, by the Solicitations of ſome of the Nobility, to pardon his Rebellion; and in order to prevent any Diſagreement between his Sons after his Death, he divided his Dominions between them.

1098. *Boleſlaus* and *Sbigna* unite againſt the Palatine of *Cracow.*

The Authority of the Palatine of *Cracow*, became inſupportable to the two young Princes; the ſtrongeſt Places in the Kingdom were all at his Diſpoſal; he had erected a Fortreſs at his own Expence, and ſupplied it with all Neceſſaries for ſuſtaining a Siege. All Employments in the State, were engroſſed by his Relations and Friends; his Treaſures were immenſe, and his Pride was as immoderate as his Riches. The Conduct of this Favourite, created ſeveral Suſpicions in the Minds of *Boleſlaus* and *Sbigna*, either becauſe an Exorbitancy of Power is criminal in a Subject, or becauſe he abuſed the Aſcendancy he had acquired over the old Duke. The two Brothers combined together, to drive him from *Poland*, and aſſembled a great Army, with that Intention. Their Father advanced againſt them, but the Biſhops and the Nobility became ſucceſsful Mediators for a Peace. The Palatine was ſacrific'd to the Tranquillity of *Poland*, and had Orders to retire; upon which, he immediately ſhut himſelf up in his Fortreſs. The two Princes prepared to beſiege him with all their Forces, and they intended to treat him as a Rebel, when the Danger with which this Favourite was menaced,

ed, re-kindled the Friendſhip of the old Duke, who privately quitted his Palace, and went to join the Palatine.

All Things now ſeem'd to have a Tendency to a civil War: *Uladiſlaus* had engaged himſelf more intimately than ever with his Favourite, and ſhew'd a Diſpoſition to expoſe himſelf to the laſt Extremity for his Support. His Sons, on the contrary, were more irritated at this Reunion than they were before: They had already made themſelves Maſters of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, together with ſeveral other Places, and were advancing in order to beſiege their Father in *Ploczko*, when the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, who was honour'd by both Parties, as well for his Age as his Prudence, mediated an Accommodation between them. The old Duke took a new Oath to execute the former Treaty; the Sons, on their Part, obliged themſelves to ſurrender to him the Towns they had ſiezed; and the Palatine was baniſhed into *Ruſſia*.

1070. *Henry* V. takes up Arms a-gainſt the Emperor his Father.

Rome had armed the Son againſt the Father, in *Germany*, and in every Place had ſet up a Standard of Rebellion againſt the lawful Monarch. The Differences occaſioned by the Inveſtitures, continually ſubſiſted between the Emperors and the Popes, and at laſt, coſt the unfortunate *Henry* IV. his Crown and Life. Pope *Urban* II. had depoſed this Prince, and elected *Henry* V. to ſucceed him. The Son dethroned his Father, who died the following Year in the City of *Liege*. *Henry* V. teſtified but little Gratitude to the *Roman* See, in the Event, and he made it evident, that his Rebellion againſt his Father proceeded, rather from his Ambition to reign, than from any real Concern for the Intereſts of Religion, and the Pope.

He

He marched into *Italy* with an Army of 30000 Men, under a Pretext of going to *Rome* to receive the imperial Crown. *Paſchal* II. render'd him all poſſible Honours; but as he inſiſted upon this Emperor's Renunciation of all Pretences to Inveſtitures, *Henry*, whoſe Troops were then in *Rome*, ſeized the Perſon of the Pope, and ſhut him up in a Fortreſs on Mount *Soracte*, under the Guard of *Ulric* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, 'till he had gratified him with Relation to the Inveſtitures. The Renunciation was made in Form, the Pope was reſtored to his Liberty, and he then preſented the imperial Crown to *Henry*. But this Prince was no ſooner on his Return to *Germany*, than all the Biſhops of *Italy* declared againſt a Treaty extorted by Violence and Fear. The Emperor was excommunicated and the Ceſſion of the Inveſtitures was diſannulled in a Council held at *Rome*.

1102. The Death of *Uladiſlaus*. *Uladiſlaus* Duke of *Poland* died at the Age of Fifty Nine Years, and his two Sons took Poſſeſſion of the Territories which had been aſſigned to them, by the Partition, before their Father's Death. *Sbigna* was ſo impatient, as to ſeek ſome Pretext for quarrelling with his Brother, before the Ceremonials of his Father's Obſequies were performed. He pretended that he was entitled to all the Treaſure of the old Duke, becauſe it was depoſited at the City of *Ploczko* which was comprized within his Share of the Partition. The Archbiſhop of *Gneſna* appeaſed, for once, this impetuous Spirit, and it was agreed that the Treaſure ſhould be equally divided between the two Princes. This Accommodation, however, was not of any long Continuance; *Sbigna* left nothing unattempted to create Enemies to his Brother;

ther: He form'd Cabals in *Bohemia*, and his Preſents prevailed upon the Duke to aſſiſt him with an Army. His Applications were then addreſſed to *Pomerania* and *Pruſſia*, and he incited thoſe fierce People to a Revolt. The *Saxons* likewiſe and the *Moravians* took up Arms at his Inſtigation, ſo that *Boleſlaus* ſeem'd in Danger of being overwhelmed by the Number of Enemies that roſe againſt him from all Quarters.

The young Prince, who wanted Forces rather than Courage, had Recourſe, in this Extremity, to the *Ruſſians* and *Hungarians*; and obtain'd ſuch Succours as ſtrengthen'd him, ſo effectually that he ſoon became the Aggreſſor. His Preſence alone diſperſed the *Pomeranians* and *Pruſſians*; he ſacked *Moravia*, and diſunited the League that was form'd againſt him. After which he fell upon *Sbigna* by Surpriſe, and made himſelf Maſter of all his Places; but as the generous *Boleſlaus* had not conceived any Averſion againſt his Brother, who had attempted his Deſtruction, he was only ſollicitous to render him incapable of injuring him for the future, and left him the Duchy of *Mazovia* to ſupport him agreeably to his Rank.

This generous Proceeding made no Impreſſion on the Heart of *Sbigna*, who ſeeing himſelf unable to prejudice his Brother in an open Manner, form'd a Party as ſecretly as poſſible, with a View to re-enter his own Dominions, and invade thoſe of his Brother. His private Intrigues were however diſcover'd, in Conſequence of which, he was declared a Traitor, he was likewiſe baniſhed by the Advice of the Nobility, and was conſtrain'd to retire into *Pomerania*. This Province took up Arms once more in his Favour, but without any Effect. *Sbigna* was at laſt taken Priſoner:

Priſoner, whilſt he was in Arms againſt his Prince and Country; but tho' he juſtly merited Death, and the Nobility were unanimous for his being puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity, yet *Boleſlaus* paid a reſpectful Regard to the Blood of their common Father, which flowed in the Veins of his Brother, as criminal as he had proved, and was ſatisfied with enjoining him not to enter *Poland*. *Sbigna* wander'd a long Time from Province to Province, and vainly endeavour'd to intereſt the neighbouring Powers in his Favour, 'till he at laſt became comtemptible to every People. He was reduced to a very deſtitute Condition, and Neceſſity at length conſtrain'd him to have Recourſe to the Clemency of the Prince he had ſo frequently offended. *Boleſlaus* was touched with the Tears of his Brother, and the Aſſurances he gave him of a perpetual Fidelity: But the Faith of an Impoſtor ſubſiſts no longer than he finds it advantageous to retain it. *Sbigna* expected to be one Day re-inſtated in his former Condition, and he formed a Conſpiracy to effect that Event: But his Practices were all detected, and he at laſt ſuffer'd the uſual Fate of Traitors. Some Hiſtorians relate, that he was ſlain by the Nobility, who were apprehenſive that this turbulent Spirit would one Day be fatal to the State. Others affirm, that he was only condemned to loſe his Eyes, and that he lived a conſiderable Time after the Infliction of that Puniſhment, amidſt the Contempt and Oblivion of all *Poland*.

1109. *Henry* V enters *Poland* with an Army.

Coloman King of *Hungary* had drawn upon himſelf the Reſentment of the Emperor *Henry* V. who was determin'd to dethrone him; and as he was apprehenſive of being cruſhed by the Forces of

of ſo formidable an Enemy, he had Recourſe to *Boleſlaus* who form'd a powerful Diverſion in *Bohemia*, in his Favour, and ſent him a Body of Troops that defeated all the Efforts of the Emperor. *Henry* reſolved to avenge himſelf on *Poland*, for the Unſucceſsfulneſs of his Expedition againſt *Hungary*. He, at firſt, ravaged all *Sileſia*, and afterwards laid Siege to *Lubuſz*, which was render'd very ſtrong by its Situation, and where he met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that he was obliged to raiſe the Siege. This Diſappointment did not prevent him from penetrating farther into the Country, but, *Boleſlaus* compelled him to march back again; and without hazarding a general Engagement he almoſt entirely defeated the imperial Army, by Ambuſcades, and Attacks in the Night, when the Situation of the Country, and the Conſternation which generally attends Surprizals of that Nature, ſecured him the Advantage over his Enemy. The Emperor being at laſt within View of a City called *Glogow*, on the *Oder*, determin'd to beſiege it, in Hopes either of giving Battle to *Boleſlaus*, if he ſhould advance to relieve the Place; or, at leaſt, of gaining, by taking that City, ſome Compenſation for the Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd. *Glogow* was almoſt deſtitute of Fortifications, but the Courage of the Inhabitants furniſhed it with a Rampart that was impenetrable to all the Efforts of the Imperialiſts. 'Till at laſt the Engines of War having demoliſhed Part of the City Walls, the Beſieged, who were apprehenſive of being taken by Storm, began to capitulate, and promiſed to ſurrender, if their Prince did not come to their Aſſiſtance, in the Space of Six Days, with an Army powerful enough to keep the Field, and give Battle to that of the Emperor; and the Inhabitants

the Conſideration of their Duty render'd them inſenſible of the Objects that were deareſt to them. They pierced the Breaſts of their own Sons, in order to plunge their Daggers in the Boſom of their Foes. Never was any Attack better ſuſtain'd; even the Women ſhared the Glory of that Action. They animated their Huſbands, and for Want of better Arms, hurled a Shower of Stones, and a Torrent of flaming Pitch on the Enemies. The Imperialiſts were repulſed from every Quarter, and their Aſſaults, tho' often renew'd, were always ineffectual. The Inhabitants therefore of *Glogow* defended themſelves with ſo much Bravery, that they did not even need the Aſſiſtance of *Boleſlaus*; and the Emperor was at laſt compelled to quit the Siege of a Place, which he had looked upon as a certain Conqueſt.

The Emperor defeated, and a Treaty of Peace between the two Princes.

Boleſlaus purſued him in his Retreat, and came up with him, at a little Diſtance from *Warſaw*, obliging him, at the ſame Time, to have Recourſe to an ignominious Flight, and to quit the Enſigns of his Dignity, for Fear of falling into the Hands of the *Poles*. A Peace was concluded the enſuing Year, and the two Princes confirmed it by a double Alliance. *Boleſlaus* eſpouſed *Bamberg* the Emperor's Siſter, and that Monarch likewiſe preſented him with his Daughter, in order to celebrate her Nuptials with the Prince of *Poland*, when ſhe ſhould attain the proper Age for that State.

1118. The Cruſades.

All Europe was, at that Time, in Motion, in Conſequence of the Cruſades, and thoſe devout Enterpriſes were then conſider'd as the moſt effectual Means for obtaining a Remiſſion of Sins. Thoſe who engaged in them were loaded with Indul-

Indulgences and Pardons, and Men, Women, and Children, were prompted by an indiſcreet Zeal to engage, with a Kind of Emulation, in thoſe foreign Expeditions. Pope *Urban* II. being touched, in the Council of *Autun*, with the Cruelties committed by the Infidels, againſt the Chriſtians who inhabited the Holy Land, and with their injurious Treatment of Pilgrims, was the firſt Projector of theſe Cruſades, which almoſt exhauſted *Europe* of its Inhabitants. He likewiſe engaged a Number of great Lords to join Forces, for the Conqueſt of that Country, and his Diſcourſe was ſo prevailing that above 300000 Men liſted themſelves under the Banners of the Croſs, and paſs'd into the Eaſt, with many ſovereign Princes at their Head. *Godfrey* Duke of *Bulloign* and the lower *Lorrain*, was conſtituted the General for this Expedition; and his Valour was a ſufficient Juſtification of that Choice.

Several Kings and Popes derived equal Advantages from theſe Cruſades. Part of the Chriſtian Troops conducted *Urban* to *Rome*, in their March thro' *Italy*, and re-eſtabliſh'd him in his See, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of his Enemies; and theſe military Swarms diſembarraſſed ſeveral Kings from the exceſſive Number of Nobility, who had almoſt aſſumed the ſame Rank with themſelves, and theſe Wars deſtroy'd the greateſt Part of thoſe untractable Lords who oppoſed the deſpotic Power of their Sovereigns, and were too jealous of their own Prerogatives. All theſe Expeditions likewiſe furniſhed a Pretext for new Taxes, whoſe Product was frequently apply'd to ſuch Uſes as were contrary to the firſt Deſign of their Impoſition, and only redounded to the Profit of Princes and Popes.

habitants delivered up their Children as Hoſtages, for ſecuring their Performance of the Capitulation; after which they immediately ſent Deputies to acquaint *Boleſlaus* with what had been tranſacted, and to conjure him not to abandon his faithful Subjects, whom nothing but Compulſion could reduce to a foreign Yoke. The Duke hereupon aſſembled his Troops from all Quarters: The *Ruſſians* likewiſe came to his Aſſiſtance, and great Levies were made in the Duchy of *Mazovia*, and the Palatinates of *Sandomir* and *Lublin*. But as the Interval was ſo ſhort, all theſe Preparations for the Relief of the Place would have proved ineffectual, if it had ſurrendred at the Time ſtipulated by the Capitulation. *Boleſlaus* therefore had Recourſe to Prayers and Menaces, to oblige the Deputies to break the Treaty, and improve the Truce, in repairing their Ramparts, and likewiſe to ſacrifice to the Welfare of the State, the Hoſtages they had given, rather than ſtain themſelves with Infamy, and incur his Indignation, by opening their Gates to the Enemy, at a Time when all *Poland* and its Allies were advancing to their Relief.

This Diſcourſe had the deſired Effect, and the Deputies prevailed upon the Inhabitants to ſuſtain a new Siege. The Walls and Ramparts were repaired with all poſſible Expedition, to check the firſt Fury of the Enemy; new Ditches were likewiſe dug in the City, and the Breaches were cloſed up with the Ruins of the Houſes. Neceſſity found Soldiers and Pioneers, every Perſon aſſiſted at the Works, without Diſtinction of Sex or Condition. In a Word, theſe gallant Inhabitants, whoſe Courage was more efficacious than the Valour of the moſt warlike Soldiers, were

his Election was over, he went to *Rome*, and ſeized, by the Way, the Antipope who had ſhut himſelf up in *Sutri*, and ſuffer'd him to periſh in a diſmal Priſon. The Emperor, who was excommunicated anew by the Council of *Rheims*, being ſenſible that it was headed by a Pope as intrepid as powerful, began to be apprehenſive leſt the Affair relating to the Inveſtitures ſhould be as fatal to him, as it had proved to his Father: For which Reaſon he at laſt renounced that Right, in the firſt general Council of *Lateran*, which *Calixtus* had aſſembled on that Occaſion.

Boleſlaus was fear'd and reſpected by all the Nations that border'd on his Dominions. *Bohemia*, *Pruſſia*, *Pomerania*, *Moravia*, and *Ruſſia* had often experienc'd the Force of his Arms, and the Empire itſelf was proud of ſuch an Ally. *Denmark* was now the Scene in which his Courage and Abilities were equally conſpicuous. The Motives to this Expedition were lawful, and no Way reſulted from Ambition. That Kingdom groan'd under the Tyranny of the Uſurper *Abel*, who had waded to the Throne thro' the Blood of *Henry*, his Brother, and his King, but he did not long enjoy the Fruit of his Crime. *Peter* a *Daniſh* Nobleman had ſettled in *Poland*, where he found an honourable Aſylum. *Boleſlaus* conferr'd upon him a Profuſion of Favours, made him his moſt intimate Confidant, and, in order to attach him the more to his Intereſt, he cauſed him to eſpouſe a Princeſs of *Ruſſia*, who brought him a large Addition to his Fortune. The Father of this Lord reſided in *Denmark*, and had, in his Poſſeſſion, the Treaſures of the late King *Henry*; but as he was far advanced in Years, he

1124. The Expedition into *Denmark*.

thought it incumbent on him to conceal ſo rich a Depoſite, in order to fruſtrate the Avidity of the Tyrant. With this View he tranſmitted a ſecret Intimation to his Son, that he had all the Treaſures of the Crown of *Denmark* at his Diſpoſal; that very few Perſons had any Knowledge of that Depoſite, and that he was determined to conſign it to no Mortal but his Son; and that it therefore was his Intereſt, to concert ſuch proper Meaſures as might enable him to ſecure thoſe immenſe Riches, and convey them into *Poland*. The *Daniſh* Lord communicated this Account to *Boleſlaus*, and intreated that Prince to aſſiſt him with a Body of his Troops. *Boleſlaus* not only promiſed him all the Aid in his Power, but had even the Generoſity to charge himſelf with the Accompliſhment of this Affair. He cauſed a Fleet to be fitted out, and landed in *Denmark*, after a favourable Voyage. He made the Death of King *Henry* the Pretext for his Vengeance, and the very Mention of his Name, ſo dear to that People, immediately rouzed them into a Rebellion againſt the Uſurper, who was compell'd, for the Preſervation of his Life, to abandon a Throne he had acquir'd by his Crimes, and which he wanted Courage to defend. *Boleſlaus* having thus made himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom, might have been its Monarch, if he had pleaſed, as well as its Deliverer, but he had no Intention to lay any Conſtraint on the Suffrages, and he reſtor'd to the Nobility all the Places he had conquer'd; as being fully ſatisfied with the Glory he had acquired; he therefore ſet Sail with all the Treaſures of *Peter*, and returned in Triumph to *Poland*.

Calixtus

Calixtus was ſucceeded by *Honorius* II. and new Troubles were created in the Church by the Death of this laſt Pope; the Cardinals were divided among themſelves, and they elected two Popes in one Day. The Majority and moſt devout Members of the ſacred College adhered to *Innocent*; whilſt *Peter* of *Leon*, who aſſumed the Name of *Anaclet*, had only a few Cardinals in his Intereſt, but then he was the moſt potent Perſon in *Rome*. *Innocent* took Refuge in *France*, where he was acknowledged in the Council of *Etampes*, by the Influence of *Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*. The Emperor *Lotharius*, who ſucceeded *Henry* V. offer'd likewiſe to acknowledge *Innocent*, provided he would reſign to him the Inveſtitures. St. *Bernard*, who at that Time was the Oracle of all *Europe*, concerted ſuch Meaſures, that this Monarch deſiſted from his Pretenſions, and ſubmitted, without Reſerve, to the lawful Pope. The Steadineſs and Exhortations of the Abbot were as prevalent with *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, who had warmly eſpouſed the Party of *Anaclet*. The Examples of the Empire and *France* drew after them all the reſt of *Europe*, and *Innocent* was obey'd by all, but *Robert* Duke of *Sicily*, to whom *Anaclet* had granted the Title of King, and who perſiſted in his Obedience to that Antipope. He even ſubſtituted a Succeſſor to him, who took the Name of *Victor* II. but rather with a View to come to a better Accommodation with the See of *Rome*, than with any Intention to continue the Schiſm. *Victor* threw himſelf at the Feet of the lawful Pope, and *Roger* acknowledged *Innocent*, who in his Turn acknowledged the Regal Title of *Roger*, and the remaining Sparks of the Diviſions were extinguiſhed in

1130. *Honorius* II. Pope. New Troubles in the Church.

the ſecond General Council of *Lateran*. The Empire was rent, at the ſame Time, by a Schiſm, which, by an Effect of good Fortune, was not productive of ſuch fatal Events as that of the Church. *Lotharius* had been elected Emperor in the Room of *Henry* V. as we have already intimated, but ſome of the Electors, who were diſſatisfied with that Choice, elected *Conrade* Duke of *Suabia*, ſoon afterwards. The Difference was at laſt decided by a ſingle Battle, in which *Conrade* was defeated, and he then deſiſted from his Pretenſions, and reconciled himſelf intirely to *Lotharius*, who received the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, from the Hands of Pope *Innocent*.

Troubles in the Empire.

1135. Fortune, at laſt, abandon'd *Boleſlaus*, and his Credulity prov'd fatal to him. An *Hungarian* Emiſſary of *Waſilkon* Prince of *Ruſſia*, came to implore his Protection, and aſſured him that he had been diveſted of all his Eſtate, on Account of the Zeal he diſcover'd for the Houſe of *Stephen* King of *Hungary*, and added that he owed his Preſervation from Death to a timely Flight. The Duke received him in an honourable Manner, and gave him the Government of *Wiſlica*, a ſtrong Place on the *Nida*, but the Traitor, in the Abſence of *Boleſlaus*, deliver'd up that City to the *Ruſſians*, who were admitted without any Difficulty, upon which they immediately ſacked it; and when they had ſet it on Fire, they carried off all the Inhabitants into *Ruſſia*. This Calamity was ſucceeded by another that was ſtill more conſiderable. The *Ruſſians*, who had always been defeated in the open Field, had Recourſe to Treachery, in order to revenge all the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, and *Boleſlaus* was eaſily betray'd into the Snare they had prepar'd for him. Upon receiving a Depu-

Deputation from the Inhabitants of *Halitz*, who pretended to implore his Aſſiſtance, in Favour of their Prince *Jaroſlaus*, who had been baniſhed into *Poland*, he marched towards that City with a Body of Troops, whoſe Number was indeed inconſiderable, but they were compoſed of the braveſt Men in *Poland*. When he had approached within a ſmall Diſtance of the City, all the Forces of *Ruſſia* pour'd upon him. The *Poles* fought like Men animated by Deſperation, and ſold their Lives very dear; but they were at laſt overwhelmed with Numbers. Moſt of them were ſlain on the Spot, and their Duke ſaved himſelf with much Difficulty.

1138. The Death of *Lotharius*, and Election of *Conrade*.

The Emperor *Lotharius* dying on the *Alps*, near *Trent*, was ſucceeded by *Conrade* Duke of *Suabia*, who had been his Competitor. *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and Son-in-Law to *Lotharius*, ſeem'd inclinable to diſpute the Empire with him; but he was abandon'd by all his Friends, and *Conrade* diveſted him of his Dominions.

1139. The Death of the Emperor *Lotharius*, and of *Boleſlaus*.

The Death of the Emperor *Lotharius* was follow'd by that of the Duke of *Poland*, at the Age of Fifty Four Years, and after a Reign of Thirty Six; his Death was occaſion'd by the Mortification he conceived for the Loſs of *Wiſlica*, and his Defeat at *Halitz*. War was the conſtant Employment of this Prince; he had headed his Armies from his early Youth, was victorious in many Battles, and he kept the fierce People he had conquer'd, in Subjection to *Poland*; but he wanted Reſolution to ſupport the leaſt unfavourable Turn of Fortune. His open Diſpoſition render'd him too credulous, and as he was incapable of

impoſing upon others, he could hardly imagine he ſhould be deceived himſelf.

Uladiſlaus II. Duke of *Poland.* 1140.

Boleſlaus had divided his Dominions into Four Branches, for each of his Children. *Uladiſlaus*, his eldeſt Son, had his Lot in the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sirad*, *Lencici*, *Sileſia*, and *Pomerania*. *Boleſlaus* had the Duchy of *Mazovia*, with the Territories of *Culm* and *Cujavia*; *Miecſlaus*, the Palatinates of *Poſnania*, and *Kaliſch*; and *Henry* thoſe of *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*. *Caſimir*, the youngeſt Son, who was then in his Cradle, had not any Share of his Father's Dominions.

When *Boleſlaus* was dead, the Four Princes made their Applications to the General Aſſembly of the States, who were then met at *Cracow*, to ratify the Diſpoſitions of the late Duke, and to confirm them in the Poſſeſſion of the Provinces he had aſſign'd them. The States, beſides this Affair, were to determine on the Choice of a Duke of *Poland*. The Election was ſuſpended for ſome Time, but the Nobility declared, at laſt, in Favour of *Uladiſlaus* II. It was likewiſe decreed that the Four Brothers ſhould enjoy their Duchies, and be conſidered as Princes, but ſubordinate, at the ſame Time, to their Brother *Uladiſlaus*; and that they ſhould not engage in any War, nor conclude a Peace, without his Approbation; that they ſhould be obliged to preſent themſelves before him with their Troops, whenever he ſhould need their Aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould have the Guardianſhip of young *Caſimir*, whom he was to educate in a Manner ſuitable to his Birth.

This Treaty was ſoon violated, at the Inſtigation of an ambitious Princeſs. *Chriſtina* the Conſort of *Uladiſlaus*, and the Daughter and Siſter of

of two Emperors *, and whoſe high Birth was exceeded by her Pride, was extreamly mortified to ſee her Brothers-in-Law, reign over part of *Poland*, and ſhe concerted Meaſures to diveſt them of their Dominions. The firſt Pace ſhe took, in order to ſucceed in her Scheme, was to induce her Huſband to concur in that Affair; and *Uladiſlaus*, who was altogether as ambitious as herſelf, eaſily enter'd into her Views: But, as it would have been dangerous to attack thoſe Princes, without ſome Pretext to palliate that Proceeding, with the Appearance of Juſtice, and as it would likewiſe be difficult to expel them from their Territories, in Violation of a ſolemn Treaty, *Chriſtina* had Recourſe to a Reaſon of State; and when ſhe had convoked an Aſſembly at *Cracow*, ſhe repreſented to the Members, that the Partition of the Kingdom was contrary to the fundamental Laws of a Monarchy, and would inevitably be attended with fatal Effects; that all the Meaſures that could be formed, to prevent the Body of the State from being diſmembred, and for the Reunion of thoſe Parties that were divided under ſo many Chiefs, would prove chimerical, and be render'd impracticable in the Event; that the laſt Commotions which *Sbigna* had excited, ought to make them apprehenſive of the like Diſorders; and that it was therefore neceſſary to diſannul the Partition, and render Obedience only to one Prince, in order to ſecure the Honour and Tranquillity of *Poland*.

This Diſcourſe offended ſeveral of the Nobility; and ſome of them had the Reſolution to declare that the Diſpoſitions of the late Duke had been ratified by an Aſſembly of the whole Nation; and that, conſequently, it ought not to be

* She was the Daughter of *Henry* IV. and the Siſter of *Henry* V.

infringed;

infringed; that *Uladiſlaus* had been acknowledged the ſole Head of the Republick; and therefore no Deviation had been made from the ancient Maxims of the Government; that inſtead of the Partition being injurious to the Republick, it was rather to be ſuppoſed that a Multiplicity of Princes, united under one Head, would augment the Power of the State, and ſecure the Happineſs and Tranquillity of the People; that the Example of *Sbigna* could no longer create any bad Impreſſions; and that if any one of thoſe Princes ſhould preſume to abuſe the Authority confided in him, the Recollection of the Puniſhment which attended a former Traitor, would be ſufficient to reſtrain him within thoſe Limits of his Duty, which the Example of *Sbigna*, might otherwiſe incline him to tranſgreſs.

Uladiſlaus invites Ruſſian Troops into Poland.

Uladiſlaus, at that time, diſſembled his ambitious Projects, without ſuffering them to diſappear from his View; and as he was ſenſible that he ſhould be oppoſed by the People, he turn'd his Thoughts to foreign Aſſiſtance; and cauſed a Body of *Ruſſians* to enter *Poland*, in order to be ready when he ſhould have occaſion for their Aid. He afterwards endeavoured to win the Nobility over to his Intereſt, and a great Number of Lords, accordingly, join'd him, ſome from the Motives of Intereſt, others through Fear; and the *Daniſh* Count *Peter*, whom we have formerly mention'd, was almoſt the only Perſon who openly eſpouſed the Cauſe of the three young Princes. He even made lively Remonſtrances to *Uladiſlaus*, with reſpect to the Infraction of the Treaty, and boldly reproached him for his Ambition. This was ſufficient to kindle the Reſentment of that Prince. *Chriſtina* likewiſe conceived herſelf to be injured by ſome Expreſſions of that Nobleman, which

which reflected on her Honour; for which Reason she caused him to be seized and carried off from *Breslau*, at the very Time when he was celebrating the Nuptials of his Daughter with the Deputy of *Servia*; and this Princess, who was equally cruel and vindictive, caused him to be deprived of his Eyes, and likewise order'd his Tongue to be cut out. The Cruelty of Christina.

As the Count was the only Person who was capable of ballancing the Power of *Uladislaus*, by his Riches and Credit, when this Obstacle was once surmounted, the Duke of *Poland* no longer confined himself within the Bounds of Moderation. He easily drove *Boleslaus* from *Ploczko*, and *Henry* from *Sandomir*: and these Princes retired to their Brother *Miecslaus*, in *Posnania*, where they were soon afterwards besieged. *James* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, surrender'd without any Hesitation, dispatched some Barons, to soften the inhuman Disposition of *Uladislaus*; but all their Endeavours were unavailing, and their Submissions affected him as little as their Menaces. *Uladislaus* rather seem'd more haughty and inflexible; and as he despised the inconsiderable Number of the Besieged, and the Weakness of the Place, he summon'd them to surrender at Discretion, and submit to the Laws of the Conqueror. This severe Treatment drove the Besieged to Desperation, caused them to form a Project that seem'd rash and dangerous, tho' it was easily Practicable, because it was not foreseen. As the Besiegers conceived themselves to be in the utmost Security, they kept but a slender Guard in their Camp, and most of the Soldiers frequently render'd themselves incapable of fighting, by their Intemperance. The Besieged, therefore, improved the favou- 1115.

favourable Moment, and ſallied from ſeveral Quarters of the City. The *Ruſſians*, who form'd the moſt conſiderable Body of the Troops of *Uladiſlaus*, immediately took the Alarm; all was in Confuſion in their Quarter, and the Enemy carried Fire and Sword thro' every Part, before their Adverſaries, could be in any Condition to defend themſelves. The Diſorder was diffuſed through the reſt of the Army; and every one had Recourſe to Flight. *Uladiſlaus* himſelf was carried along with the Torrent of Fugitives, and left all his Baggage as a Prey to the Enemy, whoſe Weakneſs had made him think them incapable of ſuch a deſperate Attempt.

The three Brothers were, careful to improve this Victory, and they eaſily recover'd the Cities that had been allotted to them by their Father; after which they advanced towards *Cracow*, whither *Uladiſlaus* had retired after his Defeat. And as he knew himſelf to be incapable of oppoſing them, he durſt not wait for their Arrival. In this Extremity he retired into *Germany*, after he had fortified the Citadel of *Cracow*, where he left his Wife and Children. He flatter'd himſelf that his Return would be ſpeedy, and that the Emperor would ſend him back with a Body of Troops, ſince he was allied to him by his Wife. But all his Applications were ineffectual, becauſe ſome Affairs of more Conſequence, had drawn all the Imperial Forces to another Quarter. The Brothers, therefore, form'd the Siege of *Cracow*; and as the Inhabitants had no Hopes of any Succours; their Apprehenſions of being forced, cauſed them to open their Gates, after a faint Reſiſtance. The Citadel follow'd the Example of the Town, and *Chriſtina*, that imperious Princeſs who was ſo deſirous of invading the Dominions of her Brother-in-law,

in-law, beheld herſelf diveſted of her own, and compelled to ſeek an Aſylum, in a foreign Country. She was ſent back to *Germany*, with her three Sons, and *Boleſlaus*, the ſecond Son of *Boleſlaus* II. was declared Duke of *Poland*, by the whole Nation.

Uladiſlaus and *Chriſtina*, ſollicited the Emperor to aſſiſt them with Troops for the Recovery of their Dominions; but the holy War, in which that Monarch was then engaged, not permitting him to turn his Thoughts to other Expeditions, the *Poliſh* Prince could only obtain from him an inconſiderable Body of Forces, with which he made a few Incurſions into *Poland*, without being in a Condition, to undertake any Action of Conſequence; and he even loſt thoſe few Succours in a ſhort Time; for the Emperor having thought it proper to paſs through *Poland*, in his Progreſs to the Eaſt, was received by *Boleſlaus* with ſo much Magnificence, that he immediately diſcontinued all Hoſtilities, and brought the four Brothers to an Accommodation at his Return. A great Number of the *Poliſh* Nobility engaged in the Cruſade, and attended the Emperor in that Expedition. *Boleſlaus* IV. 1147.

This Cruſade was render'd ineffectual by the Treachery of the *Greeks*. *Manuel*, Emperor of the Eaſt, poiſon'd part of the Chriſtian Army, by mixing Lime among their Corn; and great numbers of them were deſtroyed by the Infidelity of the Guides, who betrayed them into the Hands of the *Saracens*, with whom that Emperor maintain'd an Intelligence. *Lewis* King of *France*, who had followed the *German* Emperor, at the Head of another Army, had no better Succeſs than that Prince: he was even attacked, in his Return, by the Naval Forces of the *Greeks*, and they would have made him their Priſoner, had

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it not been for the unexpected Aſſiſtance of the *Normans*, who diſperſed them, and deliver'd the King from the Danger wherein he was engaged.

1149. The Emperor *Conrade* enters *Poland.*

Conrade, after his Return to *Germany*, devoted his Attention to the Affairs of *Poland*, and demanded a Reſtitution of the Dominions of *Uladiſlaus*, from the Duke his Brother: but his Mediation being rejected, he aſſembled a Body of Troops, with an Intention to enter *Poland*. His Army was augmented by its Conjunction with the *Bohemians*, and *Moravians*, whom *Uladiſlaus* had intereſted in his Quarrel, and all things now ſeem'd diſpoſed for a bloody War; which might have been fatal to *Poland* in the Event, had not *Boleſlaus* averted the Storm by his Prudence. He demanded a Paſſport from the Emperor, and went to his Camp as ſoon as he had obtain'd it. He was admitted into the Council, where he delivered him with ſo much Energy; and demonſtrated the Injuſtice, and ambitious Views of *Uladiſlaus*, in ſo effectual a Manner, that he, at laſt undeceived the Emperor. Care was likewiſe taken, to diſtribute Money, at the ſame Time, with great Profuſion; upon which *Conrade* retired with his Troops, and made his ill State of Health, the Pretext for that Proceeding.

After the Retreat of ſo formidable an Enemy, *Poland* enjoy'd a Peace, for ſome Years, under the prudent Government of *Boleſlaus*, and his Brothers. *Henry*, who was one of them, and likewiſe Duke of *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, as has been already obſerved, took an Opportunity in this Interval of Peace, to make a Progreſs to the Eaſt, in order to ſignalize his Courage in thoſe Parts. He embark'd with a conſiderable Body of brave Volunteers, and arrived at *Jeruſalem*, after

after a proſperous Voyage. The Succours he brought, repelled the Efforts of the *Saracens*, for ſome Time, but after he had continued in the holy Land, for the ſpace of a Year, and had loſt moſt of the Troops that follow'd him in that Expedition, he returned, with much Reluctance, to *Poland*, where he was received in a triumphant Manner, with the general Acclamations of his People. But this religious Prince not being ſatisfied with the Aſſiſtance he afforded the oriental Chriſtians, was reſolved to tranſmit to Poſterity, ſome Tokens of his Charity, and Zeal for the Preſervation of the holy Land; and with that View he left large Donations in his Territories, to the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and alſo to the Templars.

The Emperor *Conrade* III. dying in the Year 1153, and the Electors having conferr'd the Empire on *Frederick*, ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*, Duke of *Suabia*, the unhappy *Uladiſlaus* implored the Aſſiſtance of that Prince, and he ſucceeded ſo well, that *Frederick* was determined to reinſtate him in his Dominions. With this Intention, he enter'd *Poland* with a powerful Army of *Germans*, and *Bohemians*; and *Boleſlaus* with his Brothers awaited the Approach of the Imperialiſts, at the Head of a gallant Body of Troops, and their firſt Deſign was to engage the Emperor, upon his Arrival; but they changed their Sentiments, when they beheld the formidable Appearance of the Imperial Army, and the numerous Troops that compoſed it, and reſolved to divide their Forces, and attack the Enemy, only by Ambuſcades, and Surpriſals. Theſe Expedients had already been ſucceſsful, under the Conduct of *Boleſlaus* III. who, without drawing on a general Engage-

1158. *Frederick Barbaroſſa* demands the Reeſtabliſhment of *Uladiſlaus*.

ment,

ment, had defeated the Emperor *Henry*, in 1109. The three Brothers ſeparated from each other, with this Intention, after which they ravaged the Country, and ſet Fire to all the Towns, that were in no Condition to ſuſtain a Siege, that, by theſe Means, they might ſtarve the Enemies, and leave them nothing to Plunder. The Imperial Army, in Conſequence of this Proceeding, was ſoon reduced to the utmoſt Extremity, for Want of Proviſions and Forage. Whenever the Soldiers appear'd, the *Poles*, who continually hover'd about their Quarters, never fail'd to fall upon them, and carry off the Forages. The Famine among them was ſucceeded by a Dyſentery, and this Diſtemper proved ſo fatal to them, that *Frederick* was almoſt Defeated, even before he had ſeen the Enemy; and therefore, that he might preſerve his Honour, as much as poſſible, and avoid an entire Overthrow, he propoſed a Conference, before his Retreat, and it was agreed to, by the Dukes of *Poland*. *Boleslaus* came in Perſon to the Emperor's Camp, and a Peace was concluded. The three Brothers readily conſented to the Re- [illegible]; they likewiſe promiſed to lend the Emperor three hundred Lances, for the War in [illegible]; and a Treaty was confirmed between them, by the Marriage of *Mieſlaus*, Duke of [illegible] with [illegible], the Emperor's Niece.

[illegible] reaped no Benefit, from this advan- [illegible]. he had already made Prepara- [illegible] to his Return to *Poland*, and was follow- [illegible] and her three Sons; when he [illegible] by Death, at [illegible]; where this [illegible] Peace was inter- [illegible], but his Children [illegible] to aſſert their Claims [illegible]. The circumſtances of his Death have

have induced ſome Hiſtorians to believe he was poiſoned. *Boleſlaus*, his eldeſt Son, attended the Emperor into *Italy*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in in ſuch a Manner, by his Bravery at the Siege of *Milan*, that he gain'd the Eſteem of the Emperor, and prevailed upon him to employ his Mediation, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Family of *Uladiſlaus*, in *Poland*. The Negotiation had a favourable Event, *Boleſlaus* conſign'd the Sovereignty of *Sileſia* to his Nephews, which they were to hold as Homagers to him, and were likewiſe to acknowledge him as ſole Monarch of *Poland*.

Pruſſia, which, till then, had been immerſed in Idolatry and the Superſtitions of a ſtupid Worſhip, was at laſt brought over to Chriſtianity, by the Care of the Duke of *Poland*. His Dominions were in a State of Tranquillity, and he had no War to apprehend from his Neighbours; he therefore thought it adviſable to improve ſo favourable a Conjuncture, for the entire Conqueſt of *Pruſſia*, and the Propagation of Chriſtianity among them. *Mieeſlaus* and *Henry* his Brothers, attended him in this Expedition, and enter'd *Pruſſia*, with him, by three different Quarters. Nothing cou'd withſtand them in their Progreſs, and they had already advanced into the Heart of the Country, without much Oppoſition, when ſome of the moſt conſiderable Perſons among the *Pruſſians*, came to their Camp, to aſſure *Boleſlaus* of their Obedience, and intreat him to withdraw his Troops; but the Duke refuſed to accept of the Peace, and Tribute they offer'd him, unleſs they would, at the ſame time, conſent to be baptized. This Propoſal was communicated to all the Nation, and they accepted it without any Heſitation; in Conſequence of which, they deſtroyed their Idols,

and conſecrated Woods; a great Number of Pagans received the Ceremonial of Baptiſm, and ſeveral Prieſts were left in that Country, for the Inſtruction of the People, who ſeem'd to have been ſincere in their Converſion to Chriſtianity; tho', in Reality, their only Motive to that Conduct was the Dread they entertain'd of the Conqueror. When the *Poliſh* Army, therefore, had retired from their Country, the Number of thoſe who continued faithful to their Engagements, was very inconſiderable; the greateſt Part of the Nation relapſed into their antient Superſtitions, and drove the Prieſts out of their Territories. This fierce People had even Recourſe to Arms; they ravaged the Duchy of *Mazovia*, before any Meaſures could be concerted to oppoſe ſo unexpected an Irruption, or to cut them off in their Retreat, and they carried off a very conſiderable Booty, into their own Country.

1116. The Poles defeated in Pruſſia.

Boleſlaus immediately reſolved to revenge this perfidious Proceeding, and he aſſembled all the Forces of his Kingdom, to exterminate that barbarous Nation. The *Pruſſians* ſoon received Intelligence of theſe great Preparations for War, and as they were conſcious of their Inability to oppoſe ſo powerful an Enemy, they had Recourſe to Stratagems and their uſual Frauds. In the *Poliſh* Army were four *Pruſſian* Deſerters, who gain'd ſo much Credit there, that they were intruſted with the Care of marking out the Quarters; and the Routs that were to be taken; by which Means all the Motions and Welfare of the *Poliſh* Army depended on the Conduct of theſe Traitors: The *Pruſſian* Chiefs wrote privately to them, and offer'd to reward them in a very extraordinary Manner, if they would make ſome Attempt

in

in Favour of their Country; and to the Deſtruction of their mortal Enemies the *Poles*. The Fidelity of theſe Deſerters was eaſily ſhaken, and they agreed to the Propoſal they had received. In Conſequence of which, they changed the Routs, and then ſtriking out into impracticable Ways, they drew the Army of *Henry* Duke of *Sandomir*, into Defiles between Mountains, the Tops of which were poſſeſſed by the *Pruſſians*, who were likewiſe Maſters of all the Avenues. The Army was entirely defeated; *Henry* himſelf was ſlain in a miſerable Manner; and it was with great Difficulty that *Boleſlaus*, and his Brother *Miecſlaus* eſcaped the ſame Fate. The bad Ways, and the Precipices they were obliged to ſurmount, in their Return to *Poland*, loſt them a great Number of brave Soldiers, and all their Baggage.

1169. A Civil War kindled by the Children of *Uladiſlaus* II. and ended by the Prudence of *Boleſlaus*.

This Defeat was ſucceeded by a civil War, which was excited by the Children of *Uladiſlaus* II. who pretended to have great Cauſe for Complaint. They demanded a Reſtitution of the Duchy of *Cracovia*, and a Share in the Succeſſion to their Uncle, which had entirely devolved on *Caſimir*, the youngeſt Son of *Boleſlaus* III. They even raiſed their Pretenſions as high as the Throne it ſelf, and declared that, as their Father had been the Sovereign of *Poland*, *Boleſlaus* had unjuſtly uſurped their Rights; and as the Conjunctures at that Time, ſeem'd to preſent them with a favourable Opportunity of enforcing their Claims, they ſtrengthen'd their own Troops with a Body of *German* Auxiliaries. *Boleſlaus* was not then in a Condition to oppoſe them, and they advanced to the very Gates of *Poſnan*, without any Obſtruction. The Defeat in *Pruſſia* was too recent an Affair, and *Poland* would certainly have changed

its Maſter, in the weak Condition to which it was then reduced, if *Boleſlaus* had not recurred to the Dexterity of Negotiation. The Sons of *Uladiſlaus*, tho' they were then victorious, and in a Condition to enlarge their Conqueſts, durſt not refuſe a Conference, for fear of rendering themſelves odious to all the Nation. The Aſſembly, therefore, was held, and *Boleſlaus* replied to all their Demands. He averr'd, that *Cracovia* could never be conſider'd as Part of the Succeſſion they claim'd to *Uladiſlaus*, becauſe that Duchy had been united to the Crown, and could be poſſeſſed by none but the Perſon who wore it; that they had no juſt Pretenſions to the Throne, tho' it had once been filled by their Father; becauſe the national Choice was paramount to all hereditary Right; and laſtly, that *Caſimir*, who till then had never obtain'd any Allotment of his Father's Dominions, had been inveſted with the Territories of Duke *Henry*, by the Advice and Conſent of the Nobility. Theſe Reaſons were ſatisfactory to all the Aſſembly; and tho' the Members were unanimous in their Opinion, that the Sons of *Uladiſlaus* had kindled an unjuſt War, yet, in order to extinguiſh all Pretences for Diviſion, *Boleſlaus* gave them the Poſſeſſion of ſome Towns in *Sileſia*, and agreed to a Partition of them, among his Nephews.

1173. His Death. *Poland*, after the Concluſion of this Treaty, continued in a State of Tranquillity, and gradually recover'd it ſelf from the Calamities it had ſuſtain'd, by its Loſſes in *Pruſſia*, when a new Accident was on the Point of creating thoſe Troubles that ſhould always be dreaded, in elective Kingdoms, at the Death of each Prince. *Boleſlaus* died the Thirtieth of *October*, 1173, and bequeathed

bequeathed his Duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, to his Son *Lech*, to whom *Caſimir* was conſtituted Guardian by his Direction. With Reſpect to the Succeſſion to the Throne, *Miecſlaus*, *Caſimir*, and the eldeſt Son of *Uladiſlaus* II. might claim it as their Right, and there was Reaſon to be apprehenſive that a War would be inevitable on this Article; but the ſudden Election of *Miecſlaus*, aſtoniſhed all his Competitors, and his Title was unanimouſly acknowledged.

Miecſlaus, ſurnamed the Old, on account of the Wiſdom he diſcovered in his early Youth, made it evident, that Proſperity can change the Heart. *Poland* was in Expectation of happy Times, under the Reign of a Prince, who had always appeared ſo equitable and prudent, but he diſappointed the Hopes of that People, whoſe Affection had raiſed him to the Throne, in Oppoſition to all the Parties that had been formed to his Prejudice, and he became a Tyrant, the Moment he ceaſed to be a Subject. *Miecſlaus* III. called the Old.

He entirely reſigned himſelf to ſuch Favourites as were unworthy of the Confidence he repoſed in them, and authorized them in all Sorts of Violence and Exactions. The Cries of the Oppreſſed no longer reached his Ear, or he liſten'd to them with Contempt. The Riches of particular Perſons became their Crime; he left nothing unattempted to fill his Coffers, and his Avarice was equal to the Profuſion with which he diſſipated all the Treaſures he had amaſſed by his oppreſſive Conduct. His Paſſion for Hunting was ſo immoderate, that he frequently revenged the Death of ſome vile Animal, by ſevere Puniſhments inflicted on Perſons of great Diſtinction. In a Word, *Miecſlaus*, when he was only a Subject, was juſt, affable, and generous, and render'd

himself the Delight of *Poland*; but he no sooner gain'd the Sovereign Power, than he became cruel, and unjust; a Monster of Avarice, and the Horror of his People.

1177. His most faithful of his Subjects, and particularly *Gideon* Bishop of *Cracow*, made lively Remonstrances to him, but in vain, for they were so far from making any Impressions on the Heart of this Prince, that they rather inflamed him into Madness. He threaten'd *Gideon* with Banishment, and vowed to confiscate the Estates of those who should presume to censure his Administration, or attempt to redress the Calamities of the State; till at last his tyrannical Proceedings exhausted all the Patience of the *Polish* Nobility. They secretly assembled together, and unanimously resolved on the Deposition of a Prince, who no longer merited that Title. The Choice of another Monarch was attended with greater Difficulties, than their Resolution to depose the Tyrant. The Lords were divided in their Sentiments, and this Contrariety might have been fatal to the Assembly, if *Stephen*, Palatine of *Cracow* had not made a lively Representation of the Danger to which they exposed themselves, by not agreeing in the Decision of an Affair, the Success of which entirely depended on a speedy Execution: He proposed, at the same Time, *Casimir* Duke of *Sandomir*, and drew such an engaging Portrait of this Prince, who was the youngest Son of *Boleslaus* III. that he gain'd all the Suffrages in his Favour, and Bishop *Gideon* was immediately deputed to make him a Tender of the Crown.

Casimir

Caſimir declined this Honour, at firſt, and the Severity of his Vertue made him apprehenſive of acting the Part of an Uſurper, notwithſtanding the Importunities of all the People, who invited him to the Throne. Vanquiſhed at laſt, by their repeated Prayers, he accepted of the Dignity they had profer'd him, after a Proteſtation, that he was not influenced by any Motive of Ambition. He then advanced with his Troops, and was received in *Cracow*, as the Deliverer of *Poland.*

Miecſlaus was then abſent, and did not receive any Intelligence of his Depoſition, till a conſiderable Time afterwards: but he then employed all his Efforts to raiſe an Army capable of replacing him on the Throne. He demanded Troops from the Dukes of *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, and *Lorrain*, but the Forces of theſe Princes were engaged elſewhere. *Miecſlaus* therefore finding himſelf in no Condition to hazard a Battle, was obliged to continue in a ſtate of Inaction, and had even the Mortification to loſe the lower *Poland*, and *Pomerania*, which had been faithful to him till then. *Caſimir*, therefore, aſcended the Throne, without coſting *Poland* one Drop of Blood, in the Accompliſhment of that great Event.

The Conduct of this Prince juſtified the Choice of the Nobility, and did not falſify the high Opinion the People had entertain'd of his Vertue. As ſoon as he was ſettled on the Throne, he turn'd his Thoughts to the proper Expedients for correcting thoſe Abuſes, which had been introduced by the Male-Adminiſtration of *Miecſlaus*, and to relieve the People from the Calamities under which they laboured. All the new Impoſts were ſuppreſſed; he likewiſe order'd a Re-examination of the Proceedings againſt thoſe who had been un-

juſtly condemned, and the Informers were ſeverely puniſhed.

As all the Peaſantry, in general, were cruſhed by the Nobility, *Caſimir* thought it moſt expedient to redreſs thoſe unjuſt Vexations, by a general Aſſembly, which was accordingly held at *Lencici*, and at which all the *Poliſh* Biſhops aſſiſted, with their Metropolitan *Zaziſlaus*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, at their Head. Anathemas were thunder'd againſt thoſe who ſhould injuriouſly poſſeſs themſelves of the Effects of the Peaſants, and exact from them ſuch Services as they were not obliged to render. Care was likewiſe taken to ſecure all Eccleſiaſtical Properties, by eſtabliſhing Penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould invade them, and who ſhould either pillage the Effects of Biſhops after their Death, or authorize Seizures of Church Lands.

The Acts of this Council were tranſmitted to *Rome*, and *Caſimir*, in order to add more Authority to theſe Deciſions, cauſed them to be confirmed by the Pope.

Alexander III. Pope. *Alexander* III. was then in the Chair of St. *Peter*, but his Pontificate was not unattended with Troubles. The Clergy of *Rome* roſe againſt him on the very Day of his Exaltation, and engaged two Cardinals to elect another Pope. *Octavian* was accordingly choſen, and he aſſumed the Name of *Victor* IV. but was rejected by all the Weſt, except the Emperor *Frederick*, who acknowledged this Antipope, and cauſed him to be confirmed in the Council of *Piſa*. This Scandal continued in the Church after the Death of *Victor*, and *Frederick* cauſed two other Antipopes to be ſucceſſively elected. *Alexander* was obliged to take Refuge in *France*, and the Emperor himſelf was at laſt compelled to ſubmit, in a diſhonourable Manner,

Manner, for the Prevention of a Revolt which was forming againſt him in *Germany*, and he ſolemnly ſued for Pardon from the Pope, who ſet his Foot upon his Neck in the City of *Venice*. The Antipope *Calixtus* likewiſe made his Submiſſion, and the Schiſm came to a final Period in 1180. *Alexander* died in 1182.

Miecſlaus not being able to recover his Dominions by Force of Arms, had Recourſe to Supplications. This unfortunate Prince had not only loſt his Crown, but likewiſe his hereditary Lands, and was reduced to an extreme Degree of Indigence, which more ſenſibly affected a dethroned King. While he was in this calamitous Situation he writ to *Caſimir*, who was eaſily moved by the Prayers of a Brother, who had been his Sovereign, and againſt whom he had no particular Cauſe of Complaint. *Caſimir* even offer'd to reſign to him the Throne, and this he would certainly have done, if his Intentions had not been oppos'd by all the Nobility, who threatned to depoſe him, and neither to acknowledge him, nor any other Prince. *Caſimir*, however, was ſo touched with Compaſſion at the deplorable State to which his Brother was reduced, that he left nothing unattempted to relieve him in his Misfortunes, in which Conduct he diſcover'd a Generoſity very ſingular in its Nature, with Reſpect to a rival Brother. He even facilitated his Conqueſt of *Gneſna*, and all the Lower *Poland*, and furniſhed him with the Means of wreſting Part of his Dominions even from himſelf.

The ambitious *Miecſlaus* was ungrateful and perfidious: When he became Maſter of *Gneſna* contrary to his Hopes, he extended theſe yet farther, and formed a ſecret Conſpiracy to ſeize the Crown from a Brother, who had, in ſome Meaſure,

Meaſure, ſhared his Empire with him. His firſt View was to poſſeſs himſelf of the Duchies of *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, which belonged to *Lech* the Son of *Boleſlaus*, and who had been conſigned to the Tutelage of *Caſimir*. *Miecſlaus* gain'd upon Count *Zira*, who had an abſolute Aſcendant over the young Prince, and perſuaded him to quit the Court of *Caſimir*, in order to throw himſelf into *Gneſna*. *Lech* comply'd with this Advice, which, had it not been for the Moderation of *Caſimir*, would have kindled a civil War; but this virtuous Prince ſacrificed all Reſentment at his Brother's Conduct, to the Welfare of the State, and contented himſelf with preventing the Effects of thoſe ſecret Practices which had been imparted to him. *Lech*, who had retired to *Miecſlaus*, was ſenſible to what Extremes that Prince was capable of being precipitated by his Ambition; ſince he already, under a Pretext to preſerve the Dominions of his Nephew, had ſeized all the Towns in *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, and placed ſuch Officers and Garriſons there, as were entirely at his Devotion. Count *Zira*, who was deſpiſed the Moment he became no longer uſeful, thought himſelf obliged, as well in Intereſt as in Reputation, to carry off *Lech*, and conduct him to *Caſimir*, who receiv'd him in a very affectionate Manner, and re-eſtabliſh'd the Authority of his Pupil, after he had compelled *Miecſlaus* to evacuate the Places he had uſurped. *Lech* died ſoon after theſe Tranſactions, and appointed *Caſimir*, the Heir to his Dominions.

Saladin, King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, having received Intelligence of the Departure of the *Chriſtian* Princes, and likewiſe of the Diviſion which reigned among thoſe who continued at *Jeruſalem*, beſieged that City, and carried it in Fourteen Days,

Days, in the Reign of *Guy* of *Luſignan*. The News of this unfortunate Event cauſed great Emotions in *Europe*, and excited all the Kings in Chriſtendom to a new Cruſade, in order to reconquer the Holy City. Perſons of all Ranks engaged in this foreign Expedition, and even the pooreſt contributed to the Expence of the War, the Succeſs of which was, however, contrary to the Hopes that had been entertain'd from ſuch extraordinary Preparations: all Churches were taxed to a certain Sum, and that of *Poland* diſtinguiſh'd itſelf in a peculiar Manner by its Liberalities. Cardinal *Malabranka* came into that Kingdom to levy the Tenths, and likewiſe to reform the Clergy. This Species of Tribute, which *Rome* exacted, was punctually paid, but the Reformation was more difficult to be accompliſh'd, notwithſtanding all the Regulations that could be made in that Article.

The Emperor *Frederic* was the firſt of the *European* Princes who arriv'd in the *Eaſt*, in Oppoſition to all the Efforts made by the *Greeks* to obſtruct his Paſſage; and he, at firſt, obtain'd very conſiderable Advantages over the Enemy, but he was unhappily drowned, in a River of *Armenia*. This Misfortune might, however, have been repaired by his Son *Frederic*, who had already ſignaliz'd himſelf in ſeveral Exploits; but the young Prince was carried off by a contagious Diſtemper, which deſtroy'd a conſiderable Part of the *Chriſtian* Army.

The Expedition of *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip Auguſtus* King of *France* was equally unſucceſsful. The Plague made great Devaſtations among the *Chriſtian* Troops, and their Diviſions compleated their Deſtruction; by which Means, all the Benefit which reſulted from this Enterprize,

Enterprize, the Ardour of which had unpeopled *Europe*, and impoveriſhed the richeſt Churches, was a Truce of Three Years, which was obtain'd, by reſtoring to *Saladine* all the Places that were conquer'd from him.

During the Courſe of theſe Tranſactions, a black Conſpiracy was formed in *Poland*, againſt *Caſimir*. This Prince was then engaged in a War with *Ruſſia*, which he had undertaken with a View to re-eſtabliſh *Uladimir* in the Duchy of *Halicz*, of which he had been diveſted by the *Hungarians*. This Expedition diſpleaſed a great Number of the Nobility, whom private Intereſts had united with the *Hungarians*, and who, in order to diſconcert a Project they diſapproved, reſolv'd to recall *Miecſlaus*, and open the Gates of *Cracow* to him. They cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that *Caſimir* had been poiſon'd in *Ruſſia*, and this Falſhood facilitated the Admiſſion of *Miecſlaus* into *Cracow*, where he fortify'd himſelf. The Citadel, however, made a bold Reſiſtance, and *Caſimir*, having by his Preſence diſſipated the Report of his Death, the Conſpirators were univerſally oppos'd. The Uſurper was ſoon obliged to have Recourſe to Flight, and was too happy in eſcaping with Life. All the Forts he had erected immediately ſurrendred, and his Son *Boleſlaus*, to whoſe Care he had confided them, fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. *Caſimir*, even on this Occaſion, gave the uſual Proofs of his Clemency and Moderation. The Priſoners were diſmiſſed with Ranſom, and even furniſhed with every Thing neceſſary to their Return into their Country. The victorious *Caſimir* condeſcended to demand Peace of a rebellious Brother, whom he was in a Condition to have cruſhed for ever.

The

The laſt Action of this amiable Prince, was the Conqueſt of *Pruſſia*, and the Execution of his Vengeance for the Death of Duke *Henry* his Brother. *Caſimir* died at *Cracow*, either of an apoplectic Fit, or by Poiſon infuſed in a Liquor, which carried him off in a few Hours, amidſt all his Courtiers. He refuſed the Crown twice, and was only prevailed upon to accept of it for the publick Good. He likewiſe offer'd to reſign it, when he imagined that Conduct neceſſary to the Welfare of the Republick. He never engaged in any War without an equitable Heſitation, and always made Prudence the Concomitant of his Courage. All the Actions of his Life were dignify'd by a Grandeur of Soul that was far exalted above all Ambition. The full Extent of his Genius was neceſſary to preſerve him from being the Victim to his own Clemency, and the Dupe to his gentle Diſpoſition. He was an illuſtrious Model for good Kings, whoſe Duty it is to ſacrifice themſelves to the Welfare of their People.

It is difficult to repair the Loſs of ſo great a Prince by a ſuitable Succeſſor. The Biſhop of *Cracow* appear'd at the Head of thoſe who were deſirous of electing *Lech* the eldeſt Son of *Caſimir*, to the Throne. The tender Age of this Prince was the only Obſtacle to his Election, and he was favour'd by the generality of the Lords and People: But it was thought dangerous to confide the Adminiſtration of that State to the Weakneſs of an Infant, or the Ambition of his Tutors, and as much reſpected as the Memory of the late King was among them, the Apprehenſion of ſuch Troubles as commonly attend a Minority, proved a Motive for the Excluſion of *Lech*. *Mieſlaus the Old*, Duke of Lower *Poland*, and another

He is ſucceeded by his Son *Lech*,

other *Miecſlaus*, Duke of *Oppelen* in *Sileſia*, and Son of *Uladiſlaus* II. had, each of them, a powerful Party, who were determin'd, that either one or the other ſhould be their Prince. The Eloquence of the Biſhop of *Gracow* prevailed, and *Lech*, ſurnam'd *the White*, was elected and crowned: After which, the ſame Biſhop, and Count *Nicholas* Palatine of *Cracow*, were conſtituted Tutors to the young Prince. *Conrade*, the ſecond Son of *Caſimir*, was declared Duke of *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, under the Tutelage of the ſame Lords.

1195. *Miecſlaus takes up Arms. The Battle of Mozgawa, fatal to the two Parties.*

Miecſlaus the Old, was ſo offended at this Preference, that he immediately armed and marched againſt *Cracow*. Beſides the Troops he had levied in his own Dominions; and whoſe Number was conſiderable he was likewiſe accompany'd by *Miecſlaus* Duke of *Oppelen*, *Jaroſlaus* Duke of *Breſlau*, and the Duke of *Pomerania*, who came to his Aſſiſtance at the Head of their braveſt Troops. The Tutors of the young Monarch were Maſters of almoſt equal Forces to oppoſe him; all the Youth of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, and of the Duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia* aſſembled to aid their Prince; and Part of *Ruſſia* had taken Arms in his Favour. This War, tho' of a ſhort Duration, was very bloody on both Sides, and ſo great a Slaughter was made in the Battle that was fought on the Banks of *Mozgawa*, that both Parties were involv'd in the deſtructive Effects. *Boleſlaus* was ſlain in the confuſed Havock, and his Father *Miecſlaus the Old* would likewiſe have been killed, if he had not diſcovered himſelf to a Soldier who was on the Point of ſtabbing him, and he was even compell'd to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful

ſhameful Flight. On the other Side, the Palatine of *Sandomir* was taken Priſoner; *Romain Mſeiſtawic* Duke of *Vladimirow*, ſeeing the *Ruſſian* Troops defeated, had Recourſe to an ignominious Retreat, and both the Armies retir'd in a mutual Panic, to alarm their Country with the Terrors that attend a compleat Overthrow.

Theſe Troubles were no Obſtacle to the Reformation of the Clergy. *Peter*, Cardinal Dean of St. *Mary in via lata*, uſually ſtyl'd the Cardinal of *Capua*, came to *Poland* in the Quality of Legate *à latere* from Pope *Celeſtine* III. and was received by the Biſhops and Nobility, with all the Reſpect that was due to his Merit and Dignity. The Prieſts had their Concubines at that Time; whoſe Children ſucceeded their Fathers, as if they had been legitimate, and this ſcandalous Proceeding became general in all the Churches. The Marriages of the Laity were attended with Licentiouſneſs, and the Preſence of a Prieſt was thought ſuperfluous at that Sacrament. *Peter* reform'd theſe Abuſes, re-eſtabliſh'd Diſcipline in a State of new Vigour, obliged the Prieſts to return to their Duty, by inflicting Penalties on thoſe who married; he likewiſe deprived them of their Concubines, and regulated the Forms of Marriage among the Laity. Theſe Reformations were accompliſh'd in *Poland*; but the Prieſts proceeded even to Sedition in *Bohemia*; the Cardinal Legate narrowly eſcaped being torn in Pieces by theſe furious Eccleſiaſtics; and *Henry* Biſhop of *Prague*, and Duke of *Bohemia*, was obliged to employ Force and Violence to bring them into Subjection.

Miecſlaus the Old had been compell'd to continue quiet ever ſince the Battle of *Mozgawa*; but having, at laſt, found Means to raiſe a Body of new

new Troops, his Ambition was ſoon re-kindled, and he prepared anew for War. The Province of *Cujavia*, which border'd on his Dominions, ſeem'd to him a very commodious Tract of Territories, and that alone was a ſufficient Inducement to him to enter it with an Army. Every Place where he came ſubmitted to him; and the Diſagreements, which had ariſen between the Palatinates of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*, proved favourable to his Uſurpation.

He was ſo far from being ſatisfy'd with this firſt Advantage, that he immediately form'd a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of *Cracow*, and the Throne itſelf, and as he had never ſucceeded by open Force, he turned his Thoughts to Artifice: In Conſequence of which, his firſt Endeavour was to corrupt the Fidelity of the Tutors of the Duke of *Poland*; but when he found them inflexible, and utterly averſe to the leaſt Appearance of Diſloyalty, he addreſſed himſelf even to the Mother of the young Prince.

He promiſed her to adopt *Lech* and *Conrade*; to ſurrender *Cujavia* to them, and to declare them Heirs to his Dominions, if ſhe would permit him to reſume the Crown, which belonged to him, and which his Age would render him incapable of wearing for any Length of Time. The Ducheſs accepted of his Conditions, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of the principal Nobility, and *Miecſlaus* obtain'd Poſſeſſion of the City of *Cracow*, after he had taken a ſolemn Oath for the Execution of his Promiſes.

No Confidence ought to be placed in the Words of a Prince who had receded from them ſo often, and who was influenced by no other Law, than his Intereſt and Ambition. When he had once obtained what he demanded, he no longer

longer thought of the Engagements he had contracted, and his only View was to ſecure himſelf on a Throne which he intended ſhould be inherited by his Children, in Prejudice to his Nephews; but all his Artifice was ineffectual, and Means were found to puniſh his Perfidy, and prevent the Accompliſhment of his pernicious Deſigns.

The Ducheſs growing ſenſible ſhe had been deceived, employ'd all her Efforts to retrieve the Miſconduct into which ſhe had been betray'd, by too much Credulity. *Miecſlaus* had render'd himſelf perfectly odious; but the Children of *Caſimir* were beloved by the People, and a few Meaſures taken in their Favour were ſufficient to excite a general Inſurrection. The Uſurper was driven out in a ſhameful Manner, and compelled to abandon *Cracow*; but he enter'd it again in a ſhort Time, and this artful and intrieguing Prince had Recourſe to another Stratagem which proved ſucceſsful. He found Means to blacken the Palatine of *Cracow* with the Calumnies he publiſhed againſt him, and the Ducheſs ſuffering herſelf to be prejudiced againſt that Nobleman, was deaf to all that could be alledg'd in his Juſtification. This Conduct obliged him to throw himſelf into the Arms of *Miecſlaus*, who receiv'd him in the moſt favourable Manner; in Conſequence of which, the Palatine ſoon employed all his Friends to promote the Intereſt of his new Maſter, and he introduced *Miecſlaus* into *Cracow*, by Means of the Intelligence he maintained there.

This Prince did not long enjoy the Advantages of his Conqueſt, for he died ſoon after, and his Son *Uladiſlaus* was elected by the Credit of the ſame Palatine.

1306. The Irruption of the *Tartars.*

After their Death, *Poland* unanimouſly acknowledged *Leck the White* for their Prince; in whoſe Reign, the *Tartars*, who 'till then were a Nation little known in *Poland*, and whoſe Cruelty and Inroads diffuſed Terror through the moſt potent Kingdoms in the North; we ſay the *Tartars* invaded *Poland*, and obtain'd a great Victory, tho' the *Poles* were aſſiſted by the *Ruſſians.* Some Years after this Defeat, *Poland* was delug'd by immoderate Rains: The Corn, and all other Species of Grain, together with the Forage and Fruits were laid under Water. A Famine ſoon follow'd, and the Calamities of that Country were compleated by a dreadful Winter. The Fertility of the Soil was exhauſted, and a univerſal Sterility prevail'd for Three ſucceſſive Years, which reduced that once populous Country to a diſmal Solitude.

If the Reign of *Leck* was unfortunate, the Manner of his Death was altogether as deploreable. *Suantopelk* Palatine of *Pomerania*, a Man of a perfidious Diſpoſition, and render'd arrogant by his Riches; ſo that he was capable of forming any Attempt; to raiſe himſelf to a more exalted Degree of Power, concerted a horrid Deſign to ſacrifice his Maſter to his own Ambition and Fortune. He at firſt demanded the Title of Duke of *Pomerania*, and to hold that Province by Fealty and Homage; but upon the Refuſal of *Leck*, he himſelf aſſumed that Quality, and diſcontinued the Tribute, which was uſually paid to the Prince of *Poland*, by the *Pomeranians.*

Upon the firſt Intelligence of this Revolt, *Henry the Bearded*, Duke of *Sileſia*, and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia* haſten'd to the Aſſiſtance of *Leck*, who had already raiſed a Body of Troops; but

but thoſe Princes did not think it expedient to come immediately to an open War: They employed therefore the ſame Stratagems againſt the Traitor, as he had practiſed himſelf, and endeavoured to draw him to a Conference, at which they intended to ſeize him.

Suantopelk had too much to fear, and was likewiſe too prudent to be miſled by this falſe Glimmer of an Accommodation: He therefore prevented the Danger, and had the Dexterity to allure the *Poliſh* Princes into the Snare they had prepared for him. *Uladiſlaus*, Duke of Great *Poland*, became a ſecret Confederate with *Suantopelk*, and having alſo flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of a Crown, which he ſaw was on the Point of being wreſted from *Leck*, he facilitated the Rebel's Acquiſition of all the Places that were adjacent to that where the Conference was to be held, and he there concealed a great Body of reſolute Troops.

Leck, *Henry the Bearded*, and *Uladiſlaus* himſelf, came thither with an Intention to ſeize *Suantopelk*, but as he had been informed of all their Proceedings, he made his Appearance at the Head of a Body of good Troops. He found the *Poliſh* Forces in Diſorder, upon which he made a great Slaughter among them, and penetrated to the Quarter of the Princes, who were then bathing themſelves. *Leck*, being diſarmed, and almoſt naked; immediately betook himſelf to Flight, with a ſmall Party of faithful Soldiers; but he was overtaken by *Suantopelk*, who cauſed him to be maſſacred upon the Spot. *Henry* was not ſo unfortunate, but being ſurpriſed in the Bath, without any Guards to defend him, and being in no Condition to attempt the Defenſive, he had already received ſeveral Wounds, when a Soldier,

touch'd with Compaſſion, at the Sight of his expiring Prince, employ'd ſome Efforts in his Defence; drove away the Aſſaſſins, and covered *Henry*, with his own Body; but he ſoon ſunk down himſelf, entirely deſtitute of Strength, and after he had loſt all his Blood. They were both thought to be dead, and owed their Lives to nothing but the falſe Report of their having loſt them.

This firſt Calamity was followed by Troubles that were ſtill more fatal. *Conrade*, the Brother of the late Duke, and *Henry* of *Sileſia*, formed Pretenſions to the Throne, and demanded the Tutelage of *Leck*. *Conrade* being weaken'd by the Loſs of two Battles, was obliged to retire into his own Dominions. *Henry* having made himſelf Maſter of *Cracow*, had no Apprehenſions of any Expulſion from thence, and he was induced, by the imprudent Confidence he repoſed in the Inhabitants, to diſband his own Troops, and to ſend the *Sileſians* into their own Country. *Conrade* advanced, by ſecret Marches, to *Cracow*, with a Detachment of his beſt Troops; enter'd the Place, and cauſed his Competitor to be ſeized.

The Son of *Henry* ſoon appeared at the Head of a numerous Army, to revenge the Treatment his Father had received, and he threatend to ravage *Mazovia*, and *Cujavia*, unleſs that Prince were reſtored to his Liberty. The Animoſities of the two Parties created Apprehenſions of a long and cruel War, and the *Poles* were preparing for their mutual Deſtruction, when a Princeſs, whoſe Memory has been conſecrated by the Church, had the Prudence to extinguiſh a Flame, that would otherwiſe have conſumed the whole Kingdom. *Hedwig*, the Conſort of *Henry* of *Sileſia*,

leſia, was the happy Mediatrix, who brought theſe dangerous Diviſions to a Period, and gave Peace to *Poland*. *Henry* deſiſted from his Pretenſions to the Crown, and *Conrade* was univerſally acknowledged.

Henry however, within the Space of a few Years, either in Conſequence of *Conrade*'s Weakneſs, or a voluntary Abdication, aſſumed the Title of Prince of *Poland*, and retained it to his Death, ſince *Conrade* was in no Condition to conteſt that Quality with him.

Poland was then divided into different Principalities, that were almoſt independent of each other. The Perſon who was Maſter of *Cracow*, had indeed been conſidered as Monarch, and had the Title of Sovereign; but the other Dukes, who were his Inferiors in Dignity, frequently contemned the Orders of a Prince, leſs potent than themſelves, and maintained a War in thoſe Dominions, that was almoſt perpetual. The ſeveral Parts therefore of the State, being diſconcerted and ſeparated from each other, were able to concur but weakly for the common Welfare of the Republick, and while this fatal Diviſion ſubſiſted, the Forces and Splendor of a Monarchy that was once ſo potent, were continually diminiſhed.

The *Tartars*, who are a Nation equally fierce and warlike, improved this Weakneſs to their own Advantage, and after they had paſt the *Tanais*, the *Volga*, and the *Boriſthenes*, and ravaged all *Ruſſia*; *Bath*, their Cham, enter'd *Poland*, and ſacked, in the firſt Expedition, the Cities of *Lublin*, and *Zawichoſt*, with their Territories. He returned in the Winter Seaſon of the ſame Year, and marched over the Ice of the *Boriſthenes*. *Sandomir*, a rich City, became a Prey to the *Tartars*, and was carried by Aſſault, after it had ſuſtain'd

a Siege to no Effect. After which the *Barbarians* render'd it a Scene of Cruelty and Debaucheries. *Viſlicza*, and ſome other Cities, were ſacked with the ſame Fury.

They then advanced towards *Craccow*, and were already encamped at *Polaniz*, when *Uladomir*, the Palatine of that Province attacked them contrary to their Expectations. This brave Man had but a few Troops, but his Courage and Experience proved as important to him as a great Body of Forces. Amidſt the firſt Surpriſe of his Attack, he made a great Slaughter of the *Tartars*, and the Country they came to ravage, would have proved their Grave, if the *Poliſh* Soldiers had been leſs deſirous of Booty: but they were too precipitated in their Invaſion of the Baggage, and that ſhort Relaxation from the Aſſault diſcover'd their inconſiderable Numbers.

When *Bath* had made that Obſervation, he rallied ſome of the ſhatter'd Remains of his diſperſed Troops, and after he had formed them into a Squadron, he immediately fell upon the *Poles*, who were obliged, in their Turn, to have Recourſe to Flight.

The *Barbarians*, had, however, received ſo conſiderable a Check, and their wounded Men were ſo numerous, that their Apprehenſions of a ſecond Attack obliged them to retire. They arrived, by long Marches, at the Foreſt of *Stremech*, where they halted for ſome Time, to refreſh themſelves, after the Fatigues they had ſuſtain'd, and with a Perſuaſion that they ſhould be purſued.

They returned, ſoon after, with a new Army; and *Kaidan*, one of their Chiefs, advanced into the Palatinate of *Lencici*, and likewiſe into *Cujavia*, which he ravaged. *Bath* continued his Progreſs into the Palatinate of *Cracow*, and maſſa-

cred

cred the Inhabitants with the utmoſt Barbarity. The moſt tender Infancy, and the weakeſt old Age, were Victims to the *Tartarian* Rage, and neither Sex, nor Quality, nor any other Circumſtance could ſoften the Hearts of thoſe *Barbarians* with the leaſt Impreſſions of Pity. They had loaded themſelves with Spoils, and were retiring into *Ruſſia*, when the ſame *Uladomir*, whom we lately mention'd, attended by *Clement*, Caſtellan of *Cracow*, the Palatine *Pacoſlaus*, and *James Raczihorowicz*, Caſtellan of *Sandomir*, had Reſolution enough to attack them with an inequality of Troops. Victory declared, at firſt, in Favour of the Chriſtian Army, and Part of the *Tartars* were put to Flight; but their Body of Reſerve renewed the Battle, to their Advantage, and made ſuch a vigorous Attack on the *Poles* who were then fatigued, that they were entirely defeated.

This fatal Battle weaken'd and intimidated the *Poles:* their Princes retired into *Hungary:* the People and the Peaſants ſought for an Aſylum in Places that were impenitrable, and amidſt the Solitude of Forreſts and Mountains. *Cracow*, being open on every Quarter, and entirely defenceleſs, was plunder'd and burnt; and *Breſlau* ſoon after ſuſtain'd the ſame Calamity.

Moravia and *Hungary* became the next bloody Theatre of the *Tartarian* Fury. Their Arms were irreſiſtable; King *Bela* was defeated, and obliged to retire into *Auſtria*, with his Nephew *Carloman:* The City of *Peſth* was carried by Aſſault, and above 100000 Perſons were ſlaughter'd in that Place.

The *Tartars* having made themſelves Maſters of all the Country, fixed their Camp between *Gran*, and *Javarin*, in *Hungary*, from whence they frequently detached conſiderable Parties,

who extended themſelves on all Sides. One of theſe Detachments ſurprized *Cracow* a ſecond Time, and made a greater Slaughter than before.

During the Courſe of theſe Devaſtations, *Boleſlaus*, ſurnamed the *Chaſte*, the Son of Duke *Henry*, had been elected Prince of *Poland*. *Conrade* his Uncle was exaſperated at that Preference, and endeavoured to avenge himſelf. He was aided by *Suantopelk* Duke of *Pomerania*, and took the Field, at a Time when the Flames that the *Tartars* had kindled, were not extinguiſhed. The Ruins of *Cracow* were ſtill ſmoaking; *Boleſlaus* was in *Hungary*, and that unfortunate City had neither Inhabitants nor any Chief.

Amidſt theſe Conjunctures, *Conrade* cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged, and eaſily made himſelf Maſter of the Duchies of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, but did not enjoy them for any Length of Time. He abuſed his Authority, and harraſſed his Subjects with immoderate Impoſts. He was induced, by an unjuſt Caprice, to confer the Offices of the State, without any Regard either to Merit, or Birth; by which Means he equally irritated the Nobility, and the Peaſants. Deputies were privately diſpatched to *Boleſlaus*, to repreſent to him the Complaints of the *Poles*, and to engage his Aſſiſtance. He at laſt appeared, after ſome Delays, and the Gates of *Cracow* were immediately open'd to him.

Conrade, who was then in *Mazovia*, haſten'd to oppoſe the Progreſs of his Enemy, but was incapable of regaining *Cracow*. He therefore retired, with an Intention to return with a more numerous Army; and he accordingly appeared the enſuing Year, accompanied with a great Body of *Lithuanians*, and other Foreigners: but all his Efforts were ineffectual, for he was defeated near *Sochodol*,

Sochodol, and was compelled to have Recourſe to an ignominious Flight. This Loſs, however, did not entirely deject him, and during the Remainder of his Life, he continually harraſſed *Boleſlaus*, who ſupported himſelf on the Throne, notwithſtanding ſome unfavourable Turns of Fortune.

He reigned thirty ſeven Years. The perpetual Continency he obſerved, tho' he was married; his Liberality to the Prieſts and Monks; the Privileges he granted them, and the Number of Monaſteries that were founded by him, have procured him the Praiſes of the eccleſiaſtic Hiſtorians. But he was better form'd for a Cloiſter than a Throne. He frequently abandoned his People, and fled at the firſt Approach of the *Tartars*, without daring to attack them. His Genius was too contracted and weak, to enable him to govern by himſelf, and he reſigned himſelf to unworthy Miniſters, who abuſed his eaſy Diſpoſition, and made his Name ſubſervient to their unjuſt Meaſures, whilſt the Hatred they created was perpetually levelled at the Prince. While the Clergy, who were opulent and undiſturbed in their Poſſeſſions, derived Advantages from the Weakneſs of *Boleſlaus*, and whilſt *Rome*, who enriched herſelf, by the exorbitant Tenths ſhe exacted, made a pompous Elogium on the pious Prodigality of this Prince; the *Poles*, who were cruſhed under a Weight of Impoſts, openly accuſed him of Avarice, and his Diſſipation of the public Wealth. 1279. The Death of *Boleſlaus*. His Character.

As he had no Children, and had voluntarily renounced the Name of a Father, he adopted *Leſzko*, or *Leck*, ſurnamed *the Black*, Duke of *Cujavia*. When *Boleſlaus* was dead, the Palatinates of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, acknowledged *Leck*,

as

as well on Account of his Adoption, as becauſe he was nearly related to the late Duke.

1280, 1281. The Reign of this Prince was one continued Scene of War. He had ſcarce aſcended the Throne, before he was attacked by a Confederate Army of *Ruſſians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians*, whom he defeated; but while he was engaged in this Expedition, *Sandomir* revolted, and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia*, made himſelf Maſter of all the Places in that Palatinate.

The Revolt became general in the Space of a few Years; and the Biſhop, the Staroſt, and the Palatine of *Sandomir*, in Conjunction with all the principal Nobility, invited the Duke of *Mazovia*, a ſecond Time, into their Country. He accordingly made an expeditious March thither, at the Head of a great Army, and received Oaths of Allegiance from the Diſaffected. Every Place ſubmitted to him, except the City of *Cracow*, which continued faithful to its Prince, who, amidſt his Apprehenſions of a Siege and his Inability to ſuſtain it, retired into *Hungary*, to apply for Succours from King *Uladiſlaus*.

The Fortitude and Loyalty of the Inhabitants of *Cracow*, were not to be ſhaken. They, at firſt, abandoned the City to the Enemy, becauſe they were in no Condition to defend it, but they continued invincible in their Citadel. But while the Siege was drawn out into a Length of Time, the *Hungarians* advanced to relieve the Place; *Conrade* was defeated, the ſecond of *Auguſt*, and afterwards fled into *Mazovia*, where he ended his Days.

Leck was ſucceeded by *Henry* Duke of *Breſlau*, ſurnamed *The Good*, the Nobility of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Sandomir*, and *Lublin*, had, at firſt,

firſt, elected *Boleſlaus* Duke of *Mazovia*, but *Henry* having been invited by the Citizens of *Cracow*, advanced thither, with an Army, and made himſelf Maſter of it; after which Succeſs, his Competitor no longer preſumed to oppoſe him, but immediately retired.

Some Time after theſe Tranſactions, *Henry* was oppoſed by another Adverſary, more potent than the former. *Ladiſlaus Loklek*, Duke of *Cujavia*, and *Siradia*, gain'd all the Nobility of Great *Poland* and *Pomerania*, over to his Intereſt, and then cauſed himſelf to be elected. His Right was founded on his Birth, and if the Succeſſion to the *Poliſh* Throne had been fixed by Degrees of Parentage, he would have been the undoubted Heir of the late Duke. Fortune ſeem'd, at firſt, to favour his Arms; he obtain'd a Victory in *Sileſia*; made himſelf Maſter of the City and Citadel of *Cracow*; but the Sequel of the War did not correſpond with the firſt Succeſs. *Henry* aſſembled new Troops, advanced, by private Marches, to *Cracow*, and enter'd it, in Conſequence of the Intelligence he had maintained in that Place: His Competitor being ſurprized in this Manner, and in no Condition to defend himſelf, betook himſelf to Flight, and abandoned the Towns to *Henry*. 1290.

Henry, however, did not long enjoy that Acquiſition; for he died at *Breſlau*, and was thought to have been poiſoned by ſome *Sileſian* Lords. As he had not any Children, he bequeathed his Duchies of *Cracow*, and *Sandomir*, to *Premiſlaus*, Duke of Great *Poland*; but *Ladiſlaus Loklek*, who had already diſputed the Crown with the late Duke, made himſelf Maſter of *Sandomir*, and extended his Views to *Cracow*.

On

On the other Hand, *Griphina*, the Widow of *Leck* the Black, being exaſperated to behold herſelf diveſted of the Territories that had been conſigned to her for her Dowry, entered into a Treaty with *Wenceſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, and reſigned to him all her Rights. This Prince marched into *Poland*, ſeized *Cracow*, and expelled *Premiſlaus*, who wanted Courage to attack him.

Wenceſlaus, was elated at this Succeſs, and advanced againſt *Ladiſlaus Loklek*, who defeated him, and recovered all the Places that had been conquered by the *Bohemians*, except *Cracow*. *Wenceſlaus*, notwithſtanding this Overthrow, always retain'd the Title of Duke of *Sandomir* and *Cracow*. Some Authors have ranked him among the Dukes of *Poland*, and pretend that he cauſed *Premiſlaus* to be aſſaſſinated, before he diveſted him of his Principality.



THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND.*

BOOK III.

THE Republick of *Poland*, which was once in ſuch a flouriſhing State, loſt all its Splendour, ever ſince the Court of *Rome* had diveſted it of the Title of a Kingdom. *Pruſſia*, *Sileſia*, *Pomerania*, *Saxony* and *Ruſſia*, which were the Conqueſts of the firſt Monarchs of *Poland*, had ſhaken off the Yoke, and ſecured their Independency, by long Poſſeſſion. The Body it ſelf of this ancient Kingdom, was reduced to a melancholy Situation, and ſupported it ſelf with great Difficulty: For as it

it was divided into ſeveral Principalities, whoſe Dukes had different Intereſts to purſue, it was exhauſted of its Force, and always a Prey either to a domeſtic, or a foreign Foe.

After a Series of Wars, and other Calamities had raged for the Space of Two Centuries, the *Poles* began to be, at laſt, ſenſible of their juſt Prerogatives, and formed a Reſolution to elect a King, who ſhould be in a Condition to re-unite the divided Members of the State, and to re-animate that ancient Body, which was once ſo formidable. *Premiſlaus* Duke of *Poſnania*, the Son of that other *Premiſlaus*, who had been driven out of *Poland* by *Wenceſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, formed and conducted this great Project. He was advanced to Years of Maturity, and his Prudence was equal to his Valour. His *Pomeranian* Dominions furniſhed him with Troops, and he was likewiſe ſupported by his Uncle the Duke of *Caliſz*. The Palatinates of *Cracovia* and *Sandomir* groan'd under the Weight of the *Bohemian* Yoke, and were eaſily prevailed upon to declare in Favour of a Prince of their own Nation, and a Son of their ancient Duke.

1295. *Premiſlaus*, the third of that Name, was accordingly elected King of *Poland*, and the Solemnity of his Coronation was performed at *Gneſna*, the Twenty Sixth of *June*, by *James Swinka* Archbiſhop of that City, in the Preſence of the Biſhops of *Poſnania*, *Breſlau*, *Ploſko* and *Lublin*, and of a great Number of Gentlemen. The Biſhops of *Cracow*, and *Breſlau*, together with the Nobility of thoſe Palatinates ſent Deputies to aſſiſt at that Ceremonial.

Poland had conceived the greateſt Hopes of this Prince, and he alre[illegible]n to devote his Atten-

Attention to the Welfare of his People, when they were deprived of him by a violent Death. *Otho the Tall*, together with another *Otho*, and *John* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who were apprehenſive that *Premiſlaus* would compel them to a Reſtitution of the Territories they had uſurped from *Poland*, aſſaſſinated *Premiſlaus* at *Rogozno*, after he had reigned Six Months and Eleven Days. The Conduct he purſued in ſo ſhort a Reign, was a ſufficient Indication of his extraordinary Courage, and likewiſe of the happy Meaſures he would have concerted for the Welfare of *Poland*, had he enjoyed a longer Life.

The *Poles* ſubſtituted in his Room, *Ladiſlaus* 1296
Loklek, Duke of *Cujavia*, who had already made ſo many unſucceſsful Efforts to aſcend the Throne: but as *Wenceſlaus* of *Bohemia*, poſſeſſed the Palatinates of *Sandomir*, and *Sirad*, he deferred his Coronation, and only aſſumed the Title of Duke, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Poland*, but he did not long continue in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Dignity.

Before the Commencement of his Reign, he ſeemed to merit a Throne, but he no ſooner obtained it, than his Indolence and Debaucheries render'd him unworthy to enjoy it. The Nobility aſſembled at *Poſnania*, in order to depoſe a Prince whoſe Conduct was prejudicial to the State, and to elect a worthier Perſon. The National Choice was determined, by political Motives, in Favour of *Wenceſlaus* of *Bohemia*, who poſſeſſed the Duchies of *Cracovia* and *Sandomir*, by Vertue of the Reſignation of thoſe Territories to him by *Griffina*, the Widow of Duke *Leck*.

The

The Deputies of the Diet preſented him, at *Prague*, with the Decretal for his Election, and intimated to him, that it would be his Intereſt to eſpouſe *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of the late King *Premiſlaus*, in order to obtain the Affection of the *Poles*.

Upon his Arrival in *Poland*, he was crown'd at *Gneſna*, with the uſual Ceremonies, and ſome Time after he eſpouſed the Princeſs Royal. His Competitor was unable to oppoſe him; *Ladiſlaus* was driven out of *Poland*, and even diveſted of his patrimonial Dominions.

The unfortunate *Ladiſlaus* retired, at firſt, into *Hungary*, and being ſtill apprehenſive of falling into the Hands of his Enemy, he went to ſeek an Aſylum at *Rome*. But Fortune at laſt ceaſed to perſecute him, after the Death of *Wenceſlaus*: he then returned into *Poland*, drove out the *Bohemians*, and reaſcended the Throne: And tho' the greateſt Part of the Nobility had taken the Oath of Allegiance to him, yet the Palatinates of *Poſnania*, and *Caliſz*, elected *Henry* Duke of *Glogaw*, who aſſumed the Quality of Heir to the Kingdom, and kept in Subjection to him, during his Life, that Part of *Poland* which had acknowledged him for its Sovereign.

1320. *Ladiſlaus* was not crowned, nor did he aſſume the Title of King, till a conſiderable Time after his Election. This Ceremonial was performed at *Cracow*, which has ever ſince been the Place where the Coronation of the Kings has been ſolemnized, notwithſtanding the Proteſts made by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, againſt that Proceeding.

This Prince was always at War with the Knights of the Teutonic Order, on the Account of *Pomerania*,

merania, which they had conquered. This Order was inſtituted amidſt the tumultuous Expeditions of the Chriſtian Princes, for the Conqueſt of the holy Land. A Set of *German* Pilgrims were the Founders of it, and they made it one of their firſt Duties, to relieve the Poor and the Sick. *Baldwin*, King of *Jeruſalem*, perceiving the advantageous Effects of this Inſtitution, erected an Hoſpital in the City of *Acra*, and conſigned the Regulation of it to the Fraternity of the Teutonic Order; whoſe Inſtitution was ſoon after approv'd by *Clement* III. They were diſtinguiſhed by a black Croſs on a white Scapulary, and were ordered to be conformable to the Diſcipline of St. *Auguſtin*.

The Original of the Teutonic Order.

The diſintereſted Zeal and Regularity of this new Order, procured them the Veneration of the People, and the Protection of Kings; but their Opulence and Prerogatives ſoon clouded the original Vertues, which had ſhone in the Infancy of this Order. The Teutonic Knights having been driven out of the holy Land, the Emperor *Frederick* II. and *Conrade* Duke of *Mazovia* made them a Donation of *Pruſſia*, and the Territory of *Culm*, of which they took Poſſeſſion, and chaſed away the Idolaters, by the Aid of the *Poles*.

As ſoon as they became Sovereigns, they were only ſolicitous to extend the Limits of their Principality. *Pomerania* had been the Object of the Ambition of their Grand Maſters; who at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and in order to ſecure their Uſurpation, they engaged in a long and bloody War againſt their ancient Friends the *Poles*, to whom they owed their firſt Eſtabliſhment in *Pruſſia*.

In the Year 1310, the Grand Maſter beſieged *Dantzic*, and enter'd it, in Conſequence of the

Correſpondence he had maintain'd in the Place. His Troops made a dreadful Maſſacre, in which the principal Nobility of *Pomerania* were deſtroyed. The other Cities were ſtruck with ſuch a Conſternation at the Fate of their Capital, that they made no Reſiſtance, but open'd their Gates to the Conquerors, who had render'd themſelves ſo formidable.

Conferences were held, the following Year, in order to a Paciſication, but they all proved ineffectual, and the Knights devoted their whole Endeavours to ſecure themſelves in their Uſurpations.

In order to colour their Proceedings with ſome plauſible Appearance, they purchaſed the Rights of *Waldemar*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who reſigned to them all his Pretenſions, whether well or ill founded. The Knights, having obtained this apparent Title, deſpiſed the Thunders of the Court of *Rome*, which launched out vain Anathemas, in order to compel them to a Reſtitution of *Pomerania*, and they ſupported themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of that Province, to the Year 1466.

Ladiſlaus, before he had Recourſe to Arms, to diſpoſſeſs theſe Uſurpers, addreſſed himſelf to the Sovereign Pontiff, who was the ſuperior of the Order. *Clement* V. was then at *Avignon*, and he granted the *Poles* a favourable Brief, and appointed Commiſſaries to take an Account of the Barbarities and Invaſions of the Teutonic Knights.

The Execution of this Brief having been neglected, *John* XXII. who ſucceeded *Clement*, directed a ſecond to the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, the Biſhop of *Poſnania*, and the Abbot of *Mogilno*, authorizing them to proceed againſt the Grand Maſter, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order, and

and to compel them, by eccleſiaſtic Cenſures, in Conjunction with the ſecular Arm, to a Reſtitution of *Pomerania*, if it could be proved that they had illegally poſſeſſed themſelves of that Province.

The Commiſſaries of the holy See proceeded to the Execution of this Brief, and pronounced a definitive Sentence againſt the Knights, notwithſtanding their Appeal to the Court of *Rome*. The Order having refuſed to acquieſce with this Sentence, the Commiſſaries launched out an Interdict againſt all thoſe Places where the Grand Maſter and the Commanders reſided, and they were even pulickly excommunicated, in all the Provinces of *Poland*.

Some Years after this Proceeding, *Ladiſlaus* had recourſe to Thunders that were more effectual. He marched into *Brandenburg*, and ravaged the Territories of the Marquiſs *Waldemar*, who had reſigned *Pomerania* to the Knights: He likewiſe deſtroyed the Territories of *Culm* with Fire and Sword; and the Duke of *Mazovia* having join'd himſelf to the Knights, in order to oppoſe him in his Retreat, *Ladiſlaus* obtain'd a compleat Victory over them. 1326. 1328.

A ſecond Expedition proved ſtill more fatal to the Teutonic Order. *Ladiſlaus*, whoſe Troops were augmented by the *Hungarians*, and *Lithuanians*, who came to his Aſſiſtance, enter'd *Pruſſia*, diſperſed the Enemies Forces, and penetrated, with Impunity, through all the Country. He then ought to have improved the Weakneſs into which the Knights were ſunk, and to have reduced them to the laſt Extremities: inſtead of which, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevailed upon by their feigned Submiſſions, and accepted

the Mediation of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, on the Article of *Pomerania*: In Conſequence of which, the Knights, when the Danger was once over, entirely diſregarded the Execution of their Promiſes.

Their Perfidy, however, did not remain unpuniſhed. *Ladiſlaus* defeated them, ſoon after, and cover'd the Field of Battle with 4000 Knights, and 40000 of their Soldiers.

This Victory preſented him with a ſecond Opportunity of entirely exterminating theſe ambitious Knights from *Pruſſia*, but the King, upon their Offers to reſtore all the Places they had ſeized, was ſo tractable as to grant them a Truce, during the Continuance of which, they were ſo far from thinking of the Reſtitution they had promiſed, that they employed their whole Endeavours, to repair their Loſſes, and proſecute the War.

1333. *Ladiſlaus*, after the Glory he had acquired by theſe Exploits, died at *Cracow* the ſecond of *March*. As he pretended to be the Heir of *Leck* the Black, he conteſted the Crown with *Henry* the Good, and with *Premiſlaus* II. During the Reign of the famous *Premiſlaus* III. he always retain'd the Duchy of *Cujavia*, and ſome other conſiderable Principalities, and after the Death of that Prince he was advanced by the unanimous Suffrages of the Nation, to the Throne which he ſeem'd to merit, but of which his Conduct ſoon cauſed him to be deprived. He was, accordingly depoſed, and *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, whom the *Poles* had oppoſed againſt him, reduced him to the moſt calamitous Extremities. He became a Wanderer and a Vagabond for ſome Time, but his Misfortunes were advantageous to him, and he

he derived Inſtructions from his Adverſity. When he reaſcended the Throne, from whence the *Bohemians* had chaſed him, he maintain'd himſelf in that Dignity, by the Vertues he had acquired in the Courſe of his Misfortunes. He ſupported the Rights of his Kingdom, and obtained great Victories: In a Word, he would have been a compleat General had he known how to improve the Advantages of his Conqueſts, as effectually as he was capable of obtaining them.

A few Moments before his Death, he ſent for the principal Nobility, and the great Officers of the Crown, into his Apartment, and recommended to them his Son *Caſimir*. After which he addreſſed his Diſcourſe to the young Prince, and order'd him to employ his utmoſt Efforts to drive the Uſurpers out of *Ponerania*, and laid his Injunctions on him, not to conſent to any Accommodation with them, till they had reſtored that Province to *Poland*.

Caſimir neglected to obſerve his Father's Directions in this laſt Particular, and he was hardly elected, before he made a Truce with the Teutonic Order, and left the Affairs in Difference between them to the Deciſion of the Kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who held their Conferences of Mediation at *Viſchegrad* in *Hungary*, where they likewiſe publiſhed their Deciſion. *Pomerania* was adjudged to the Teutonic Order, provided they would reſtore the Territory of *Culm*, and ſome other Dominions.

Tho' this Deciſion was injurious to the Rights of the Kingdom, yet *Caſimir* thought fit to acquieſce with it, and undertook to procure a Ratification of it by the *Poliſh* Nation; who, inſtead of complying with his Propoſal, unanimouſly declared againſt it, in a Diet which the King cauſ-

ed to be convoked on that Occaſion. They even deputed the Biſhop of *Cracow* to bear to the Pope, the Complaints of the Nation againſt the Teutonic Order, and he took his Meaſures ſo effectually with *Benedict* XII. who then reſided at *Avignon*, that the Sovereign *Pontiff* appointed Two Commiſſaries, who came into *Poland*, and condemned the Knights to a Reſtitution of the Territories claimed by the *Poles:* but all theſe Proceedings were ineffectual, and religious Warriors are to be attacked with Arms more formidable than the Anathemas of *Rome*.

The Conduct of *Caſimir* in this Affair, is in ſome Meaſure capable of being vindicated by the Motives which induced him to proceed in that Manner. The Knights, beſides the Forces of their own Dominions, were ſupported by the King of *Bohemia* their Ally, and likewiſe by the *Germans*. They were in Poſſeſſion of *Pomerania*, *Cujavia*, and the Territory of *Culm*; but they offer'd to reſtore *Cujavia*, and *Culm*. In this Situation of Affairs, and in order to avoid a deſtructive War, which *Ladiſlaus*, tho' frequently victorious, was never able to bring to a happy Period, may it not be ſaid, that *Caſimir* acted with Prudence in conſenting to a Treaty, which reſtored him Two Provinces, without making it neceſſary for him to ſhed the Blood of his Subjects?

A Deſcription of Black *Ruſſia*. The Conqueſt of that Province.

But the moſt prevailing Motive to his Accommodation with the Teutonic Order, was his Project for the Conqueſt of *Ruſſia*. *Boleſlaus Chabri* had formerly carried his Arms into that Country; and *Boleſlaus*, ſurnamed the Intrepid, had made himſelf Maſter of *Kiovia*, and the ſtrongeſt Places in that Province, but it afterwards ſhook off the Yoke, and its Princes had long been independent. Black *Ruſſia* is divided into the Three Palatinates of

of *Leopold*, *Chelm*, and *Belez*. The City of *Leopold* is now the Capital and Metropolitan of this Country; it is likewiſe fortified with two Caſtles, one of which is within the Walls, and the other is ſeated on a neighbouring Mountain. The *Ruſſia* which belongs to the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, is called *White Ruſſia*, to diſtinguiſh it from that which at preſent conſtitutes Part of the Kingdom of *Poland*.

Caſimir, had an Intention to conquer this Province, and he ſeem'd to have a favourable Opportunity of entering upon that Expedition. Duke *Boleſlaus*, the Son of *Troydena*, Duke of *Mazovia*, having reſolved to compel his Subjects to quit the Schiſm of the *Greeks*, became a Victim to his Zeal, and his Attachment to the Church of *Rome*. The principal Lords, to whom an Alteration in the Rites of their Religion became inſupportable, formed a Conſpiracy againſt their Prince, but not daring to declare themſelves in an open Manner, they had Recourſe to ſecret Expedients, and took off *Boleſlaus* by Poiſon.

When *Caſimir* received Intelligence of the Death of this Prince, he placed himſelf at the Head of a flying Camp, and inveſted the City of *Leopold*, contrary to the Expectation of the Inhabitants. A general Confuſion was created by this Proceeding; the Place was unfurniſhed with Proviſions and Ammunition, and was almoſt deſtitute of Defenders. The few *Ruſſians* who were there, ſuſtained a Siege, but as they were incapable of a long Reſiſtance, and were promiſed to be indulged with an entire Liberty of Conſcience, they opened their Gates to the *Poliſh* Army, and took Oaths of Allegiance to *Caſimir*.

The King then marched againſt *Wlodimirow*, which he likewiſe took, and conquer'd all *Volhinia* which lies adjacent to it.

He afterwards returned to *Poland*, in order to raiſe new Recruits, and to depoſite, in ſome ſecure Place, the Treaſures of the Dukes of *Ruſſia*, which he had found at *Leopold*; a few Months after which he advanced a ſecond Time into *Ruſſia*, to compleat the Conqueſt of that Country. The Cities of *Przemyſl*, *Halicz*, *Anoc*, *Lubacrow*, and ſeveral other Places ſubmitted to the Force of his Arms, and the whole Province was ſubdued in a ſingle Campaign.

1347. *Caſimir gives Laws to Poland.*

Caſimir, after theſe Conqueſts, being dreaded and reſpected by his Neighbours, employed all his Endeavours to gain the Affection of his People, and to make them taſte the Fruits of a happy Peace. The *Poles*, as yet, had not any Body of Laws, and all Cauſes were decided, according to the Fancy of ignorant or corrupt Judges; or if there were any particular Forms in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, they were extremely ridiculous, and diſcover'd a Tincture of the groſs and barbarous Manners of that Age. The moſt uſual Regulation that was obſerved in the Deciſion of Differences between particular Perſons, conſiſted in writing down the Form of an Oath on Paper, which was afterwards read to one or the other of the Parties, and if the Perſons to whom that Oath was adminiſtred, did not pronounce it with the utmoſt Exactneſs; if he either heſitated, or changed any ſingle Expreſſion, his Cauſe was loſt, and his Adverſary gain'd his Point, tho' his Acquiſition was very inconſiderable. The Innocent, as well as the Guilty, were ſentenced to pay large Fines to the Judges, the Staroſts, the Palatines, the

the Dukes, and the King; for all Cauſes were uſually brought before each of theſe Tribunals.

Caſimir reformed theſe Abuſes, and compiled a Code, which was approved by a general Diet held at *Cracow*, and all the Nation ſubmitted to the Laws it contained.

He likewiſe founded a Univerſity at *Cracow*; erected *Leopold* into an Archbiſhoprick; built ſeveral ſtrong Places, and incloſed the Principal Cities in the Kingdom with Walls.

Such were the Fruits of that Tranquillity, which *Poland* enjoyed under the Adminiſtration of *Caſimir* the Great. He loved his People, and was equally beloved by them. He acted with Impartiality even to a ſcrupulous Degree; he was a religious Obſerver of Juſtice, and gave ſhining Examples of the reſpectful Submiſſion that was due to the Laws. The Peaſants, who were greatly oppreſſed with the Exactions of an intractable Nobility, experienced the Effects of his Goodneſs; and as he was perſuaded, that it was the Duty of a King, to render equal Juſtice to all his Subjects, without any Diſtinction of Religion or Country, he granted the *Jews* ſuch Privileges as deliver'd them from the unjuſt Oppreſſions under which they groaned.

The Monuments which he left in *Poland* tranſmitted the Memory of this great Prince to a late Poſterity. He enlarged *Cracow* by the Addition of a new City, which he diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Caſimir*. The Number of Churches, Fortreſſes and Palaces, that were erected by him, is almoſt incredible, and the generality of the Cities in *Poland* owed to him, either their Foundation, or their Embelliſhments.

If he abandoned *Pomerania*, his ſole Intention was to recover *Cujavia*, and ſome other of his patri-

patrimonial Territories from the Knights of the Teutonic Order; and to conquer *Ruſſia*, which he erected into a *Poliſh* Province.

The Luſtre of ſo many Vertues was clouded by an immoderate Incontinence. He dimiſſed his lawful Wife, who was the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Heſſe* Caſtle, to receive a Concubine into his Embraces, and he privately eſpouſed her. In all other Particulars, he approved himſelf a great Monarch, by the Wiſdom of his Government, and the Succeſs of his Arms and Politics.

1170. He had hardly breathed his laſt, before *Poland* was overrun with Robbers, who before were kept in Awe, by their Apprehenſions of condign Puniſhment. A *Brandenburg* Officer placed himſelf at the Head of a Troop of thoſe lawleſs People, and ſeized the Caſtle of *Santok*, from whence he made Inroads into Great *Poland*. The *Lithuanians* made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Wlodomirow*, which *Caſimir* had fortified, in order to keep thoſe fierce People in Subjection. They afterwards advanced into the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, through which they ſpread Deſolation. Every Place was involved in Confuſion and Diſorder.

It was intended, even in the Lifetime of *Caſimir*, that *Lewis* King of *Hungary* ſhould be his Succeſſor, and he had taken the uſual Oath to obſerve the *Pacta Conventa*. There was therefore no Obſtacle to his Election, and he was crowned at *Cracow* the Seventeenth of *November*.

He had ſcarce received the Homage of his new Subjects, before he retired into *Hungary*, and left the Government of *Poland* to Queen *Elizabeth* his Mother. He carried with him the Crown, the Sceptre, the golden Globe, and the Sword, which

which were uſed at the Inauguration of the Kings, leſt the *Poles* ſhould elect another Prince in his Abſence.

Jagellon Duke of *Lithuania*, taking Advantage of the Abſence of *Lewis*, paſſed the *San*, and extended his Troops along the Bank of that River. Theſe Forces carried Deſtruction, by Fire and Slaughter, where ever they came: they plundered the Churches, and Monaſteries; took a great Number of Priſoners, and retreated into their Country with immenſe Spoils. The *Poles*, who were then under the weak Government of a Woman, ſuffered all theſe Outrages, without avenging them on the Actors.

Chriſtendom was then divided by as dangerous a Schiſm, as that which had been lately extinguiſhed. *Gregory* had, at laſt, quitted *Avignon*, where the Popes had reſided for the Space of Seventy two Years; and this Pontiff dying ſoon afterwards, the People of *Rome*, who dreaded the Election of a *Frenchman*, ſurrounded the Conclave, and threaten'd to burn it, unleſs the Cardinals would elect an *Italian*. Thoſe timorous Eccleſiaſtics, in order to avoid the Danger, and to preſerve the Freedom of their Election, came to an Agreement among themſelves that the Perſon they were preparing to nominate, ſhould not be reputed the Pope, and that they would proceed to a new Election, as ſoon as they were free, and in a State of Security. When this Convention was ſettled, they nominated the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, who aſſumed the Name of *Urban* VI.

This Prelate would have been acknowledged Pope, if his Pride and Severity had not exaſperated all the Cardinals againſt him: From the firſt Moments of his Pontificate, he treated them in

in ſuch an imperious Manner, that they ſoon remembred the Convention they had made at his Election. They formed ſeveral Pretexts for retiring from *Rome*, and as they were protected by the Count of *Fondi*, and *Jane* Queen of *Naples*, they elected *Robert* Count of *Geneva*, who aſſumed the Name of *Clement* VII.

Urban continued Maſter of *Rome*, but could engage no more than three Cardinals, of the ancient College, to eſpouſe his Intereſt, ſo that he was obliged to create Twenty Six, and, among others, the Biſhop of the Five Churches, at the Recommendation of *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary*. The Empire, in Conjunction with *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, adhered to *Urban:* Whilſt *Scotland*, *France*, *Caſtile*, *Savoy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, declared in Favour of *Clement*, who retired to *Avignon*. The two Competitors for the Papal Chair had their reſpective Saints to eſpouſe their Party, and their Pretenſions, ſeem'd to be of equal Validity; in Conſequence of which, it became neceſſary to depoſe them both, in order to extinguiſh the Schiſm.

1382. Tho' *Lewis*, by being too much engaged in the Government of his Kingdom of *Hungary*, did not procure much Advantage to the Republick of *Poland*, he however, had ſo much Credit and Authority, as to cauſe a Succeſſor whom he approved, to be nominated in his Lifetime. A Diet was held at *Zwolen* in *Hungary*, or rather an Aſſembly was convened, in Oppoſition to all the Laws of the State, and he propoſed to the principal Nobility of *Poland*, *Sigiſmond* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* who had eſpouſed his eldeſt Siſter *Mary*, and he order'd them to take the Oaths of Allegiance

ance to him. Theſe Lords being either gain'd upon by Preſents, or intimidated by Menaces, ſacrificed the Liberty of the Nation, and acknowledged *Sigiſmond*, who immediately entered *Poland* with his Troops.

He reſided at *Gneſna*, when King *Lewis* died; and the *Poles* being then under leſs Conſtraint, loudly complain'd of *Pomarath*, a *Hungarian* Nobleman, whom the late King had intruſted with the Government of Great *Poland*. *Sigiſmond* having refuſed to ſatisfy their Demands, and likewiſe treating them in too imperious a Manner, provoked them by ſuch a Conduct. We may add too, that *Sigiſmond*'s Election was irregular, and the Oaths that had been taken to him, could not be conſidered as obligatory on the Nation. The *Poles*, therefore, oppoſed the Coronation of this Prince, and aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent State of the Republick.

The Diet came to a Reſolution to offer the Crown to *Hedwiga*, the ſecond Daughter of *Lewis*, provided ſhe would eſpouſe a Prince whom the *Poles* ſhould approve, and who ſhould be obliged to reſide in the Kingdom. Some Time after this Tranſaction, *Sernovit*, Duke of *Mazovia* was choſen to eſpouſe the Queen; but *Elizabeth* Queen of *Hungary*, and Mother of *Hedwiga*, would not accept of him for a Son-in-Law, and her Intrigues were ſo prevalent, that his Election was rendered ineffectual. 1383.

Hedwiga, therefore ſet out for *Poland*, where ſhe was received with the Acclamations of all her Subjects; and ſcarce were the Ceremonials of her Coronation compleated, when *Jagellon*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, ſent a magnificent Embaſſy to 1385. An Embaſſy from *Jagellon*; and the Pretenſions of the Duke of *Auſtria*.

to demand the Queen in Marriage; He promiſed to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and to employ his utmoſt Endeavours for the Converſion of his Subjects; he likewiſe engaged to releaſe the Chriſtian Slaves, and particularly the *Poliſh*, and to incorporate for ever, *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, and his *Ruſſian* Territories, with the Kingdom of *Poland*; and laſtly, that he would reconquer *Pomerania*, and the Territory of *Culm*, together with *Sileſia*, and all the other Dominions which had been uſurped from *Poland*.

Jagellon, by theſe advantageous Offers, eaſily obtained his Deſire: The Queen of *Hungary* approved this Alliance, and left the Tranſaction of the whole Affair, to the Prudence of the *Poliſh* Nobility, who immediately complied with the Duke of *Lithuania*'s Demand; but they acted in this Particular, without conſulting the Heart of the young Queen, who entertained a Paſſion for *William* Duke of *Auſtria*, to whom ſhe had been promiſed by King *Lewis* her Father; and ſhe only conſidered *Jagellon* as a *Barbarian* Prince, and the Sovereign of a cruel and idolatrous Nation.

The Duke of *Auſtria*, having received Intelligence of what was tranſacting in *Poland*, advanced with all poſſible Expedition to *Cracow*, where he was received by Order of the Queen, notwithſtanding the Diſapprobation of the Caſtellan. He had ſeveral private Interviews with her, entertained her with magnificent Feaſts, and the Two Lovers were on the Point of defeating all the Projects of the Senate. Their ſecret Interviews allarmed the Nobility, who appear'd in Arms before the Caſtle, and conſtrained the Duke to retire. The Queen, amidſt her Deſpair at being ſever'd from the Prince ſhe loved, had likewiſe the Mortification

o behold herſelf, in ſome Meaſure, a Priſoner r own Palace.

gellon, in the mean Time, advanced towards 1386.
w, with a numerous Body of Troops, and npanied by *Boris*, and *Swidrigelon*, his Bro-. But as *Hedwiga* had declared that ſhe d not ſee him, this Diſpoſition of the Princeſs ded his March. The Senate threw them- at her Feet, and made the moſt preſſing In- es, in order to prevail upon her to ſee the of *Lithuania*. The Queen at laſt complied their Sollicitations, and *Jagellon* was intro- d into her Preſence. This Prince was young amiable, *Hedwiga* no longer remembred *m* of *Auſtria*, and her Heart immediately ſponded with her Duty.

gellon was the Grandſon of *Gedimin*, Grand hal of *Lithuania*, who was prompted, by and Ambition, to aſſaſſinate Duke *Vi-*, in order to eſpouſe his Widow, and uſurp hrone. He however, was guilty of a proſ- s Iniquity, and left his Crown to his Seven lren. *Janut* had, at firſt, the Title of Great of *Lithuania*, by his Father's Appointment; *Olgerd*, and *Kieſtut*, two of his Brothers, re- d from him; drove him out of *Vilna*, and ted him of his Principality. *Olgerd* began eign about the Year 1327, and was engaged perpetual War with the Knights of the Teu- Order: He ravaged *Brandenburg*; defeat- e Duke of *Muſcovy*; extended his Conqueſts n Twelve Miles of the Capital of that State, ſubdued the greateſt Part of *Ruſſia*.

e was ſucceeded by *Jagellon*, the braveſt of is Sons, and whoſe Intereſt was ſupported e Credit of his Unkle *Kieſtut*: but this Har-

mony

mony between the Unkle and the Nephew was ſoon diſconcerted by *Voidilon*, the Favourite of *Jagellon*. He had eſpouſed the Siſter of his Prince, and *Kieſtut*, who reſented ſuch a diſproportionable Alliance, left nothing unattempted to break it. *Voidilon* was ſollicitous, therefore, to revenge the Contempt with which he had been treated by *Kieſtut*, and prevent the Effects of his Averſion to him; and as he maintain'd a great Aſcendant over the Mind of his Maſter, he eaſily prevailed upon him to believe, that his Unkle was forming a Conſpiracy againſt him. The credulous *Jagellon* made a ſecret Treaty with the Teutonic Knights, with a View to cruſh *Kieſtut*, and then ſhare his Spoils; but that Prince, receiving Information of the Plot that was preparing againſt him, prevented the Deſigns of his Nephew; ſurpriſed *Vilna*, and made *Jagellon* his Priſoner. *Vitolda*, the Son of *Kieſtut*, endeavoured to accommodate the Difference between his Father and his Couſin. *Jagellon* reſigned the City of *Vilna*, and the Title of Great Duke of *Lithuania*; but this Treaty was only obſerved till *Jagellon* found himſelf in a Condition to reconquer what he had loſt, and he ſurpriſed *Vilna*, whilſt *Kieſtut* was engaged in the Siege of *Novogrod*.

He was vigilant to improve this firſt Advantage, and the Abſence of his Enemy; in Conſequence of which he afterwards beſieged the Fortreſs of *Troki*, and carried it, after a few days Siege.

Kieſtut, when he received Intelligence of what had been tranſacted in *Lithuania*, raiſed the Siege of *Novogrod*, and marched againſt *Jagellon*; but being ſenſible that he was too weak to Hazard a deciſive Battle, he retired into *Samogitia*, where he raiſed new Recruits, and then marched with an

an Intention to beſiege *Troki*. *Jagellon* waited for his Arrival, and had made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for an advantageous Attack. The *Pruſſians* and *Livonians* marched to his Aſſiſtance, and had then join'd the *Lithuanian* Army; upon which he advanced againſt *Kieſtut*, to compel him to raiſe the Siege, and come to an Engagement. The two Armies confronted each other, and all the Preparations were made for a general Action, when a Conference was propoſed by *Jagellon*. *Kieſtut* and his Son *Vitholda* came to the Place appointed, with too little Precaution, and *Jagellon* cauſed them to be ſeized and carried Priſoners to *Vilna*. A few Days after this Proceeding, *Kieſtut* was aſſaſſinated by the Order of his Nephew, and *Vitholda* would have ſuffered the ſame Fate, if he had not found Means to eſcape from his Confinement. He retired, at firſt, to the Duke of *Mazovia*, his Relation, and afterwards to *Samogitia*, where he was furniſhed with powerful Succours, by the Teutonic Knights. *Jagellon* could eaſily have overwhelmed him in the Interim of theſe Proceedings, but whether it was, that the ancient Friendſhip which had formerly created a Union between him and *Vitholda*, gave him new Impreſſions in Favour of that Prince, or elſe that he was apprehenſive of the Conſequences of that War, he propoſed an Accommodation, which the other accepted, and the two Couſins cloſed their Differences with a ſincere Reconciliation.

Jagellon having happily calmed the Troubles of *Lithuania*, was elected King of *Poland*, as we have already intimated; and when his new Subjects had ſworn Allegiance to him, he united the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, together with *Samogitia*, and *Ruſſia*, to the Kingdom of *Poland*, and

confirmed this Incorporation by an Oath which he took before the principal Senators.

The Knights of *Pruſſia* beheld the Union of two ſuch potent Monarchies, with jealous Eyes, and their Politics made them apprehenſive, that the new Alliance which had for ever aſſociated the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, would prove fatal to them. They were likewiſe ſenſible, that *Jagellon* would ſoon claim *Pomerania*, and that he was engaged, by one of the principal Conditions of his Election, to declare War againſt them, for the Recovery of that Province. As they therefore conſidered him as a declared Enemy, they marched two Armies into *Lithuania*, with an Intention to ſeize ſome Place of Importance, and to effect a Revolution in Favour of Duke *Andrew*, the Brother of *Jagellon*. As this Prince was then in *Poland*, and had been followed thither by the chief of his Nobility, the Knights obtain'd great Advantages, in their firſt Operations of War, and carried Fire and Sword into the Heart of *Lithuania*, which lay open and defenceleſs; and when they had committed theſe cruel Ravages, they made themſelves Maſters of the Fortreſs of *Poloczk*, and the Caſtle of *Lubowlia*: But the King of *Poland* having received Intelligence of this Irruption, ſent his Brother *Skirgellon*, and his Couſin *Vitholda*, into *Lithuania*, from whence they chaſed the Knights and recovered the Places they had taken.

Vincent, Palatine of *Poſna*, and *Domarat* Staroſt of the ſame City, had, for ſeveral Years, fomented, by their Diviſions, a civil War in the upper *Poland*. The Princeſs *Hedwiga*, and her Mother *Elizabeth* had employed ſeveral ineffectual Endeavours to calm theſe Troubles, and the two Parties, who were equally rebellious, contemned

temned the Orders of their Sovereign, ſince they were not accompanied with a ſufficient Power to inforce them. The People groaned under the Yoke of various Tyrants. The whole Province was laid deſolate by Ravages, Murders and Conflagrations: *Jagellon* marched againſt them, within a few Days after his Coronation; puniſhed the moſt criminal amongſt them, and reſtored Tranquillity to thoſe Palatinates.

This Prince, accompanied by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and ſeveral other Prelates, took a Progreſs into *Lithuania*, in order to effect the Converſion of his ancient Subjects. The Inhabitants of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* were formerly Worſhipers of Fire. Their Chief Prieſt, who was called *Zinez*, and the other ſubordinate Prieſts were obliged to keep it burning Night and Day: and if this ſacred Fire happen'd to be extinguiſhed, by any Neglect, they were puniſhed with Death. The principal Temple was at *Vilna*, which was then the Capital of *Lithuania*, and ſome Remains of that Temple are ſtill to be ſeen in one of the Caſtles of that City. If the Sun was at any Time, ſo obſcured by Clouds, as not to be viſible for ſome Days, the whole Nation crowded to the Temple, in the utmoſt Terror, to appeaſe that offended Deity by human Sacrifices. When that Luminary was eclipſed, the Conſternation, and barbarous Superſtition of thoſe Idolaters were augmented. Gloomy Foreſts and lofty ſpreading Trees excited their Veneration; they conſider'd them as the Manſions where their Gods reſided, and approached with an Air of Reverence, in order to receive their Oracles. Serpents were likewiſe the Objects of their Adoration, and they paid ſuch religious 1387.

Honour to Vipers, that each Father of a Family was obliged to nouriſh one of thoſe noxious Animals, and to reſpect it as the tutelar God of his Houſe.

Jagellon laid the Temple of *Vilna* in Ruins, and extinguiſhed the perpetual Fire; he likewiſe cut down all the Foreſts that afforded Retreats to the *Lithuanian* Prieſts, and cruſhed their Serpents to Death. When the People, who were blinded by Ignorance and long Habitudes, beheld the Demolition of their Temples, they were immediately convinced of the Impotence of their Gods; they then renounced the Worſhip of thoſe weak Idols, and came in Crowds to be baptiſed. The Number of Catechumens was ſo great, that they were only baptiſed by Aſperſion; and none but the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them received that Sacrament in private, and with the uſual Ceremonies. *Jagellon* left Prieſts in that Country to inſtruct the People; he likewiſe erected a Biſhoprick at *Vilna*, and as he was obliged to return to *Poland*, he conſtituted his Brother *Skirgellon*, their Duke.

This Prince was altogether unworthy of that Rank. His Diſpoſition was cruel and impetuous, and he was equally formidable to his Friends and Foes. In a Word, he never ceaſed to be dreadful, but when he had been debilitated by ſome Debauch. The new Power he had acquired, render'd him ſtill more untractable. His Couſin *Vitholda*, who had been engaged in ſome Diſagreement with him, could not think himſelf ſafe, in a Country that was governed by ſuch a barbarous and vindictive Prince. He therefore retired from *Lithuania*, and took Refuge in *Pruſſia*, among the Teutonic Knights, the uſual Aſylum of the Diſaffected. They received him with open Arms, but rather as an Inſtrument who might be

e ſerviceable to their Deſigns, than with any ıtention to be Aſſiſtant to him in his own Af-ıirs. *Vitholda*, who ſoon diſcovered, that the :nights of this Order were attentive to no Inte-ɛſt but their own, had Recourſe to *Jagellon*, 'ho promiſed him the Duchy of *Lithuania*.

Jagellon having been deficient in the Perfor- 1390.
ıance of his Promiſe, *Vitholda* retired a ſecond 'ime to the Knights of *Pruſſia*, who, under the 'retext of raiſing him to the Throne, and depo-ng *Skirgellon*, but in reality, to make themſelves ſaſters of that Province, enter'd *Lithuania* with ıree Armies. The Grand Maſter of *Pruſſia* ɔmmanded the firſt Body, which was compoſ-d of *Engliſh*, *Germans* and *French*. The Grand ſaſter of *Livonia* led the ſecond, and *Vitholda* the ıird. They, at firſt, extended themſelves along ıe Plains, and ſpread their Devaſtations through ıe greateſt Part of the Duchy: after which they :ll upon the City of *Troki*, and reduced it to ıſhes. They all united, at laſt, before *Vilna* ıe Capital of *Lithuania*. The Troops of the ıarriſon, who were in the lower City, declared ɔr *Vitholda*, and even ſet Fire to the Place. The nfortunate *Corigal*, another of *Jagellon*'s Bro-ıers, fell into the Hands of the Knights, as he as endeavouring to avoid the Flames, and they nmediately cut off his Head. Fourteen Thou-nd Perſons of both Sexes periſhed with him, ıd all thoſe who eſcaped the Flames were maſſa-ɛd with the utmoſt Barbarity.

The upper City was defended by a Garriſon ɔmpoſed of *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, and *Ruſſians*. The *ithuanians* were devoted to *Vitholda*, and had de-ɛrmined to ſurrender the Place to him, in Imi-tion of their Countrymen who had open'd to him

the Gates of the lower City: but the *Poles* who had ſome Suſpicion of their Intelligence with the Enemy, diſconcerted their Meaſures, and turned their Thoughts to a timely Prevention of the Treaſon. They accordingly ſeized all the Poſts; mounted the Guard themſelves, and would not permit the *Lithuanian* Troops to have any Share in the Defence of the Place.

The *Poles*, who were thought to be more qualified for an Engagement, than to form or ſuſtain Sieges, perhaps never diſcovered more Bravery and Reſolution than they manifeſted in the Defence of *Vilna*. They were attacked by an Army compoſed of the moſt warlike Nations of the North: The weak Ramparts of the Place were ſoon reduced to Aſhes: The Garriſon, whoſe Numbers were inconſiderable, and who were likewiſe divided into different Parties, were almoſt as much obliged to oppoſe their own Troops, as they were to encounter the Enemy; and yet they defended themſelves with Succeſs. The *Poles* raiſed a counter Wall, behind thoſe Walls which the Engines of the Beſiegers had demoliſhed. They even formed a Rampart, out of the Bodies of their Companions who were ſlain in different Attacks; and not ſatisfied with confining themſelves to the Defenſive, they ſometimes went to ſeek the Enemy in their Intrenchments, undermined their Works, and killed a great Number of their Men. *Totivil*, the Brother of *Vitbeida*, was ſlain, in one of thoſe Sallies, by a Faulcon Shot.

So obſtinate a Reſiſtance afforded *Skirgellon* Time to draw a Body of Troops together, in order to relieve the Place. He frequently attacked the *Pruſſian* Lines, and tho' he could not force them in their Camp, he harraſſed them to ſuch

ſuch a Degree, and killed ſuch a Number of their Soldiers in different Encounters, that the Weakneſs to which they were reduced by theſe Loſſes, compelled them to raiſe the Siege, after they had deſtroyed all the adjacent Country by Fire and Sword.

Vitholda returned, the next Year, to beſiege *Vilna* a ſecond Time. He depended on his Intelligence with the *Lithuanians* who abhorred their Duke *Skirgellon*; but the ſame *Poles*, who had already compelled him to raiſe the former Siege, render'd all his Efforts ineffectual, and obliged him to retire. He, however, made himſelf Maſter of *Wilkomirow*, and *Novogrodeck*, and reduced them to Aſhes, after he had plundered them.

Lithuania was then in the moſt calamitous Si- 1392.
tuation, and its Inhabitants were ſo fatigued with the cruel Wars they had ſuſtained, that they formed a Reſolution to abandon their Country. The Cities ſmoaked all around them; the Country was a Scene of Deſolation; the Peaſants were all fled with their Families, into inacceſſible Retreats; the Gentry of the greateſt Diſtinction among them, were either ſlain, or doom'd to a rigid Captivity. In theſe deplorable Conjunctures, the King of *Poland* thought it incumbent on him to come to an Accommodation with *Vitholda*, who had been the Author and Chief of this deſtructive War; and he, at laſt, gave him the Duchy of *Lithuania*, and reſtored to him all his patrimonial Domains.

Jagellon ſatisfied the ambitious Deſires of *Vitholda*, but he diſcontented his own Brothers. *Swidrigellon* paſt into *Pruſſia*, and the Knights, whoſe Intereſt it was to promote theſe inteſtine Diviſions, furniſhed him with a Body of Troops. *Skirgllon* had likewiſe an Inclination to Commoti-

[redacted] prevented this Storm [redacted] the Brothers, by [redacted]

[redacted] the first Years of his Government, he employ'd all his Care in the Reparation of [redacted] that the War had occasioned; [redacted] the Losses which *Lithuania* had [redacted], soon perceived, a long Peace seem'd [redacted] him, and he enter'd *Tartary* with [redacted] Army of *Poles*, *Lithuanians* and *Russians*. He extended his victorious Arms to the Banks of the *Don*, and the *Volga*; he ravaged those vast Countries, carried off an entire Hord of [redacted], and sent them Prisoners with their Wives, and Children, into *Lithuania*: From [redacted] Part of them were conveyed to *Poland*, and he formed those he kept into a Colony in the [redacted] adjacent to [redacted]. The *Tartars* who were [redacted] into [redacted], consented to be baptised, and they [redacted] the Descendants of [redacted] are distinguished [redacted]. They have retained the Religion [redacted] Ancestors, and tho' [redacted] as Subjects of the State.

[redacted]

vent *Vitholda* from engaging in ſo dangerous a War, and repreſented to him the Inequality of his Forces, to thoſe of the Emperor of the *Tartars*; but the impetuous Courage of *Vitholda* prevailed over all thoſe judicious Remonſtrances. He departed, therefore, at the Head of a numerous Army, and was accompanied by all the braveſt Men in *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, and *Lithuania*. He, at firſt, was ſucceſsful in all his military Operations, and overran Part of *Tartary* without the leaſt Reſiſtance. The *Tartars* even ravaged their own Country, with a View to draw *Vitholda* into thoſe vaſt Solitudes, and fled before him, in order to engage him to more Advantage, in ſome unfavourable Situation, and when his Troops ſhould be fatigued with their long Marches. He was poſted on the Banks of the *Volga*, when the out Scouts brought him Intelligence, that the Enemy began to appear. Their Army was immenſely numerous, and *Ediga* the Lieutenant of *Tamerlan* was their Commander. Some previous Conferences for an Accommodation were held, and *Vitholda*, finding himſelf in a diſadvantageous Poſt, where he was confronted by an Army much more numerous than his own, was inclinable to Peace; when ſome Officers, who were more courageous than prudent, oppoſed that Diſpoſition, and prevailed upon him to reſolve on a Battle. *Vitholda* ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded, and performed Prodigies of Valour, in the Engagement. He broke through the Enemies Battalions; expoſed his Perſon where the *Tartars* were moſt numerous, and conquered where ever he appeared. But it may be ſaid that he had more Armies than one to enconter; for whilſt a hundred Thouſand *Tartars* fled before him, the *Lithuanian* Army was attacked by Three Hundred Thouſand more,

and

and oppoſed them as long as it was poſſible for them to ſtand before ſuch a prodigious Number of Enemies as ſurrounded them; till at laſt they were overwhelmed, after they had compelled their Foes to pay dear for their Victory. *Andrew*, *Demetrius*, and *Koribut*, the Brothers of *Jagellon*, were ſlain upon the Spot, with moſt of the Officers.

1401. The War with the Teutonic Knights.

Neither the Forces, nor the Courage of *Vitholda*, were intimidated by this Defeat. The *Pruſſians*, in Conjunction with the *Livonians*, made an unexpected Irruption into *Lithuania*, and committed great Ravages, after which, they retreated with their Priſoners and Booty. *Vitholda*, who did not think it adviſeable to engage them, imagined he might be capable of defeating them, if he could but attack them by Surpriſe, and he accordingly followed them to the Frontiers. Their Army, in a full Perſuaſion of Safety, had already begun to retire into Winter Quarters, when the Duke of *Lithuania* attacked and defeated them, after an obſtinate Engagement. The Conqueror made cruel Repriſals on *Livonia*; ſacked a great Number of Towns, ravaged the Country; and after he had forced the City and Caſtle of *Dwina*, he abandoned them both to Plunder, and then reduced them to Aſhes.

Much about the ſame Time, the Flight of *Swidrigellon*, the Brother of *Jagellon*, to the Teutonic Knights, excited new Motives to War, but the King of *Poland*, after ſome Devaſtations had been committed on both ſides, appeaſed his Brother by the Donation of *Podolia*: but this Treaty did not long fix the turbulent Diſpoſition of *Swidrigellon*; for he ſoon reſumed his former Sentiments, and as he could not retire once more into *Pruſſia*, to the Knights who had betrayed and aban-

abandon'd his Cauſe, he fled into *Muſcovy*, after he had ravaged with Fire and Sword the Countries which had been aſſigned to him for his Revenue. Duke *Baſilius*, who had been embroiled with *Vitholda*, received the diſguſted Prince with Pleaſure, and furniſhed him with Troops; but the Duke of *Lithuania* ſoon aſſembled an Army, and went to ſeek *Swidrigellon* in *Muſcovy* it ſelf. The Devaſtations he had committed, and the Terror of his Arms compelled *Baſilius* to ſue for Peace, which he accordingly obtained.

The *Poles* and the *Lithuanians*, who were now become one People, marched, ſoon afterwards, againſt their common Enemy. The Knights of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, who had enriched themſelves by their different Uſurpations, acted with more Imperiouſneſs than Kings themſelves, whom they equalled in Power. Theſe Treaties were a weak Reſtraint to their Ambition, and the leaſt Appearance of their own Intereſt, conſtantly furniſhed them with new Pretexts, for the violation of their moſt ſolemn Oaths. Sudden Invaſions, Injuſtice and open Violence, palliated by exorbitant Privileges, were the different Expedients to which they had recourſe for the Extenſion of their Frontiers. *Pruſſia* was a Sanctuary to all ſuch as were diſaffected to their own Government, and the Knights, under the Name of thoſe People, carried Fire and Sword into the adjacent Territories. By ſuch Proceedings as theſe, the Teutonic Order had made themſelves Maſters of *Samogitia*, *Pomerania*, and *Culm*, together with Part of *Mazovia*, and *Sileſia*, and ſeveral Places in *Poland* and *Ruſſia*. The Ravages they committed in thoſe Provinces are almoſt inexpreſſible; they were incapable of Compaſſion in their Conqueſts, and deſtroyed whatever they thought

thought uſeleſs to them; by which Means all the Advantages they derived from their Acquiſitions, were conſtantly blacken'd with the moſt implacable Barbarities; ſo that if *Poland* had not, from Time to Time, made ſome Efforts to repreſs the Avidity of thoſe formidable Neighbours, they would have overrun all the North in a ſhort Time.

Jagellon, at laſt, came to a Reſolution to puniſh ſuch a ſeries of Crimes and Injuſtice, and to march in Perſon againſt the Knights, at the Head of an Army compoſed of *Poles*, *Ruſſians*, *Moravians*, and *Bohemians*, and which was ſoon augmented by the Conjunction of a Body of *Lithuanians* and *Tartars*, commanded by *Vitholda*, and likewiſe of the Troops of *Semovith* and *Januſſa* Dukes of *Mazovia*.

Their firſt Operations were employed againſt the Caſtle of *Szwyczic*, which *Januſſa Brzozoglowi* took by a Stratagem. He firſt formed an Ambuſh in the Parts adjacent to the Place, and then advanced, at the Head of a ſmall Body of Troops, to Pillage under the Ramparts, in the Sight of the Garriſon, who immediately ſallied out, with a full Perſuaſion that they ſhould repulſe the Enemy. The *Poles* counterfeited a Flight towards their Ambuſcade, and gradually drew on their Enemies who were then ſurrounded and cut in Pieces. The Caſtle, being left deſtitute of Defence, was obliged to ſurrender; and this firſt Advantage was deemed a certain Preſage of Victory, and greatly increaſed the Ardour of the *Poles*. Some Days after this Event, they carried the City of *Dambrowno* by Aſſault. The Soldiers had advanced towards that Place, from a Motive of Curioſity, and in order to purchaſe Proviſions; but having received ſome ill Treatment from the Inhabitants, they returned to the Camp,

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and complain'd to their Comrades, of the Outrage that had been offer'd them, and prevailed upon them to aſſiſt in the intended Vengeance. In Conſequence of which, a great Body of common Soldiers, marched with Fury, and without any Chief, to the Place, and began the Attack. The King, who had no Inclination to diſcontinue his Progreſs, in order to beſiege ſo inconſiderable a City, at a Time when it was of more Importance to advance to an Enemy who approached him, order'd the Aſſailants to be called off from their Attack; but to no Purpoſe, for they were already too far engaged in the Aſſault, to be attentive to his Commands. The Citizens made a vigorous Defenſe, and at firſt killed a great Number of their Enemies; ſo that it became neceſſary to ſuccour theſe raſh Adventurers, to prevent their total Deſtruction. Their Ardour was rekindled by this Re-inforcement; their Efforts were extraordinary, and, towards the cloſe of the Day, they forced the Place, which was immediately ſacked and reduced to Aſhes.

The King of *Poland* advanced, by moderate Marches, towards *Mariemburg*, which was then the Capital of *Pomerania*, and took all poſſible Precautions againſt Surpriſals. The Body of the Army was always kept together, and the Guard was ſtation'd with the utmoſt Strictneſs; Detachments were however ſent out to forage, and exact Contributions from the adjacent Country. Thoſe Devaſtations compelled the Knights to come to an Engagement, and *Ulric* of *Junigen*, their Grand Maſter, advanced to the *Poles* in the Plains of *Tanenburg*, and *Granwaldt*.

Jagellon was aſſiſting at Maſs, when he received Intelligence, that the Enemy approached in Order of Battle, but he neither diſcontinued his Prayers,

ers, nor quitted the Chapel, till the Maſs was ended. The Grand Maſter was aſtoniſhed at the Tardineſs of the *Poles*, and as he aſcribed it to their Timidity, he ſent, in a Bravado, two drawn Swords to the King, to be employed in the Engagement. *Jagellon* received them with Joy, and told the Heralds who preſented them to him, that he ſhould be able to uſe them in ſuch a Manner, as would effectually quell the Pride of thoſe who had offered him that Preſent.

The Battle was begun by the *Lithuanians*, whoſe Actions did not correſpond with the gallant Behaviour of their Duke *Vitholda*, and they had Recourſe to an ignominious Flight, after a ſhort Reſiſtance. This Repulſe diffuſed a Conſternation through the *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, and they retreated into a neighbouring Wood, without drawing a Sword. In a Word, the Battle would have bern loſt, if *Jagellon* had not ſupported it with a Body of Reſerve, which he poured upon the Knights, who in their Purſuit of the Fugitives had diſconcerted their Ranks, and by theſe Means he reſtored the Battle to its firſt Vigour.

The great Standard of *Poland*, carried by *Martin* of *Wroczimowic*, was hurl'd to the Earth, and the Enemies had almoſt made themſelves Maſters of it; when *Jagellon* raiſed it himſelf, and carried it into that Part of the Field where the Enemies were thickeſt, and then repulſed them with a prodigious Slaughter. But his Courage carried him too far, and he beheld himſelf almoſt alone, in the midſt of a *German* Squadron, where he ſtood expoſed to a Thouſand Dangers. Notwithſtanding which, he ſtill oppoſed the Enemy, and confronted them on every Side with thoſe of his Guards as had been able to follow him; till

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it laſt his Strength began to fail him: The Foe preſſed him with a cloſer Attack, and with the utmoſt Ardour, ſo that he was reduced to the greateſt Danger, and *Poland* would then have loſt one of the braveſt of its Kings, had not his Preſervation been effected by a kind of Miracle. *Dippold* of *Kikerzicz*, a *German* Gentleman of extraordinary Strength, made a furious Advance to *Jagellon*, with a Poleax in his Hand. His Arm was already raiſed, and the King was on the Point of falling, when *Sbigna* of *Oleſchnicza* intercepted the fatal Blow. He was the private Secretary of that Prince, and had followed him into the midſt of ſo many Perils, from the Motives of Zeal and a real Affection for his Perſon, but as he was little acquainted with the Profeſſion of Arms, he had not even been cautious enough to provide himſelf with any proper Weapons, and he carried nothing but a broken Lance, which he had accidentally gathered up from the Field of Battle. The Danger in which he beheld his Maſter, inſpired him with a Strength and Intrepidity that were unuſual to him; and, by a deſperate Effort, he threw himſelf between *Jagellon* and his Adverſary, and overthrew the laſt with a Blow of his Lance.

Some Squadrons, at laſt, forced a Paſſage through their Enemies, and came to the King's Aſſiſtance, upon which Victory immediately declared in Favour of the *Poles*, and the Standard of St. *George*, which was born by the Knight *Kerzdorff* having been ſtruck down, and taken, the *Pruſſians* began to loſe all their Courage.

The *Bohemian* and *Lithuanian* Troops reunited together, and advanced to the Charge: The *Poles* redoubled their Efforts, and carried all before them. In a Word, 50000 *Pruſſians* lay dead in

in the Field of Battle, with their Grand Maſter, and 400 00 were made Priſoners of War.

Jagellon neglected to improve ſo important a Victory. He ought to have marched immediately to beſiege *Mariemburg*, which was then in a general Conſternation. The City was even deſtitute of Defence; the Garriſon had quitted it, in order to join the *Pruſſian* Army, and had been involved in their Defeat; in Conſequence of which a ſingle Detachment of *Poliſh* Troops would eaſily have made themſelves Maſters of that important Place: But the King being deſirous of refreſhing his Troops for ſome Days, *Henry* of *Plawen*, Commander of *Szwyczic*, improved this Delay, in rallying the ſhatter'd Remains of the defeated Army, with whom he marched into *Mariemburg*; which, however, was reduced to the laſt Extremities, and compelled to ſue for Peace. The Conditions were advantageous to the *Poles*, and *Jagellon* committed another Error in rejecting them. The Commander, who then performed the Functions of the Grand Maſter, offer'd, in the Name of the whole Order, to yield up *Pomerania*, the Territory of *Culm*, and all the Places that had been uſurped, provided a Peace were immediately concluded, and the Order left in free Poſſeſſion of all *Pruſſia*. But the King, who was too much elated with the Advantages he had obtained, inſiſted, that the Knights ſhould ſurrender at Diſcretion, and open to him the Gates of *Mariemburg*; after which they were likewiſe to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. This Inflexibility reanimated the Strength and Courage of the Knights. *Plawen* no longer liſten'd to any thing but his own Deſperation, when he beheld ſo unmanctable a Conqueror, who was reſolved to crush

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the whole Order, and even diveſt them of *Pruſſia*. He was, therefore, determined to make no Conceſſions, but to defend his Capital, and bury himſelf under its Ruins, rather than ſurrender it on ſuch ignominious Terms.

The Siege, in the mean Time, having been drawn out into a great Length, the *Poliſh* Army was conſiderably diminiſhed by the Diſtempers that reigned among them. The *Lithuanians* were ſo fatigued that they were the firſt who retreated from the Siege, and were ſoon followed by the Dukes of *Mazovia*; and when Intelligence had been received, that the *Hungarians* had made an Irruption on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, *Jagellon* was at laſt determined to raiſe the Siege.

The brave *Plawen* having been elected Grand Maſter, devoted all his Attention to the Reparation of the Loſſes the Knights had ſuſtained. He ſold, to the King of *Bohemia*, thoſe Territories which the Order poſſeſſed in that Kingdom, for the Sum of 115000 Florins, and borrowed Ten Thouſand more of the Citizens of *Dantzic*. He afterwards levied Troops from all Quarters, invited the *Livonians* and their Grand Maſter to his Aſſiſtance, cauſed his Places to be fortified, and prepared to re-take thoſe of which the King of *Poland* had diveſted him: But Fortune was ſtill unfavourable to him, and a new Repulſe involved the Order in greater Dangers.

Herman of *Vintkiſzec*, Grand Maſter of *Livonia*, had marched into *Pruſſia* with a great Army; after which he ſtation'd his Troops in the Parts adjacent to *Golub*, and went himſelf to *Marienburg*, to have a Conference with the Grand Maſter of *Pruſſia*. During his Abſence, *Dobeſlaus Pachala* placed himſelf at the Head of the Garriſons

of *Bobrowniki*, and *Ripin*, with a Reſolution to attack the Enemies, whoſe Entrenchments betrayed them into an entire Confidence of their Safety. His Project ſucceeded, and was ſo improved by the Troubles cauſed by the Surpriſe, that he diſperſed that great Army, killed a great Body of *Livonians* upon the Spot, and the Priſoners alone exceeded the victorious Army in Number.

1411. *Jagellon* was then in a Condition to have cruſhed the Knights, who were deſtitute of Forces, and deprived of their laſt Reſourſe, by the Defeat of the *Livonians*. They, however, found Means to check the Arm of the Victor; and a ſecret Negotiation, concerted with *Vitholda* Duke of *Lithuania*, in Conjunction with a Profuſion of Preſents, preſerved the Teutonic Order from impending Ruin. *Plawen* promiſed *Vitholda*, to yield up *Samogitia* to him, and to erect the great Duchy of *Lithuania* into a Kingdom. His Bounties likewiſe gain'd upon thoſe Lords who had moſt Acceſs to their Prince, and, by their Influence, he obtained a Truce, which was ſucceeded by a Treaty of Peace; in which the Welfare of the State was ſacrificed to the Intereſt of particular Perſons; and *Jagellon*, reſigning the Conqueſts which were the Property of the Republick, contented himſelf with 160000 Ducats, for the Expence of the War.

1414. The Council of *Conſtance* The Church, for the Space of Forty Years, had been divided by the Pretenſions of three different Popes; but this dangerous Schiſm was at laſt extinguiſhed by the Conduct of the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who not thinking it ſufficient to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Courts of the Chriſtian Princes, took

took a Progreſs, in Perſon, through the greateſt Part of Europe, in order to concert proper Meaſures, with Reſpect to the Council which was convoked at *Conſtance*, and to which he prevailed upon *Jagellon* to ſend the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*. *John* XXXIII. was compelled to abdicate, after ſeveral vain Efforts to elude that Sentence. *Gregory* acted with a better Grace, and made the Reſignation by Proxy, but nothing could gain upon the obſtinate Ambition of *Benedict*; who was reſolved to continue in the Papal Chair, and had ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle of *Paniſcola* in *Arragon*, where he died.

After the Depoſition of theſe three Popes, Cardinal *Otho Colonna*, who aſſumed the Name of *Martin* V. was elected, and univerſally acknowledged as the lawful Succeſſor of St. *Peter*. *John Hus*, who for ſome Time had propagated the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, in *Bohemia*, was condemned in this Council, notwithſtanding the Paſſport he had obtain'd from the Emperor, for his Appearance at *Conſtance*.

Whilſt *Sigiſmond*, who was more attentive to the Extinction of this Schiſm, than to the Government of his Dominions, aſſiſted at the Council, the Barons of *Hungary* aſſembled the Army, by their own Authority, and enter'd *Turkey*, but were repulſed and defeated. The *Ottoman* Troops advanced into *Hungary* after their Victory, and penetrated as far as the County of *Cilly*; ſacking ſeveral Places, and creating Apprehenſions, that their Conqueſts would be more extenſive

In this Extremity, the Emperor, in Conjunction with the Council of *Conſtance*, wrote to *Jagellon*, and intreated him to employ his Credit at the *Port*, in order to concert a Truce. The King ſucceeded in this Negotiation, and received the

Thanks of all the Powers in Chriſtendom, who had been allarmed at the Progreſs of the Infidels.

1424. New Troubles were, in the mean Time, excited through all *Bohemia*. The Puniſhment inflicted on *John Hus*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* his Diſciple, did not eradicate their Doctrines: They were revered by the *Bohemians* as Martyrs; the Number of their Followers encreaſed daily, and the Conduct of *Venceſlaus* ſpirited them up to ſuch a Degree, that if they did not dethrone that Prince, it was only becauſe he always ſtupified himſelf with Intemperance, and left them in full Liberty to cruſh the Prieſts, and pillage the Churches.

Upon the Death of *Venceſlaus*, the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, his Brother and Succeſſor, continued unactive, and gave ſufficient Time for theſe Doctrines to gain new Vigour. *John Ziſka*, the Chief of the *Huſſites*, plunder'd the *Carthuſians* of *Prague*, and the richeſt Monaſteries of *Bohemia*, with Impunity, and had even the Inſolence to cauſe the Body of King *Venceſlaus* to be taken out of the Grave, and thrown into the River. His Power being likewiſe increaſed, he founded a new City, which he called by the Name of *Thabor*; he demoliſhed the Churches of *Prague*; formed the Siege of that Capital; defeated the Imperial Troops ſeveral Times, and compelled *Sigiſmond* to make an ignominious Treaty with him, of which *Ziſka*, however, did not enjoy the Fruits, for he died ſoon after of the Plague. It is ſaid, that he gave Orders on his Death-bed, for his Body to be caſt into a Layſtall, and that his Skin ſhould be converted into the Covering of a Drum, the Sound of which alone would ſtrike the Enemies with Conſternation.

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The Barons of the Kingdom likewiſe revolted from *Sigiſmond*, and had ſhut the Gates of *Prague* againſt him. This Action was accompanied with a Declaration, that they determined not to acknowledge him for their Prince; after which they diſpatched a ſplendid Embaſſy to *Jagellon*, with Inſtructions to invite him to take upon himſelf the Government of their State, and accept of the *Bohemian* Crown. The King of *Poland*, who faithfully adhered to his Treaties with *Sigiſmond*, refuſed their Offers, but *Vitholda*, great Duke of *Lithuania*, was not ſo ſcrupulous. This Prince ſent *Coribut* into *Bohemia*, with a Body of Troops, to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Coribut* was received into *Prague*, and had already gain'd ſome Advantages, when the Complaints of the Emperor, and the repeated Orders of *Jagellon*, obliged him to return to *Poland*, and diſcontinue that Enterprize.

Sigiſmond did not conform to Treaties with the ſame Strictneſs, and he even endeavoured to foment a Diviſion between the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lithuania:* He, in fact, propoſed to *Jagellon*, at a Conference with him at *Luczko*, or *Luſna*, to join Forces with him for the Conqueſt of *Walachia*, and complain'd, that the King had not ſent the Troops he promiſed him, in the War againſt the *Turks*. *Jagellon* replied, that he could not conſent to a League againſt the *Walachians*, who were Feudatories to the Crown of *Poland*, and againſt whom he had no juſt Pretence for a War: That, as to the Succours promiſed againſt the *Turks*, he had faithfully executed the Treaties, and ſent a Body of Auxiliaries to the Place of Rendezvous, to which the Imperial Army never came; ſo that the *Poles* were obliged 1419.

to retire, after they had taken a long and dangerous March to no Effect.

This judicious Anſwer did but exaſperate the Emperor, who retained an ancient Animoſity againſt *Jagellon*, and which was not obliterated by the Services he had received from that Prince. And tho' he was in Alliance with *Poland*, he had ſecretly ſupported the Teutonic Knights, who were the implacable Enemies of that Kingdom, and to whom he imagined he ſhould render a Signal Service, by diſſolving thoſe Bonds which united the *Lithuanians* with the *Poles*.

Vitholda was ambitious, and the Regard he was obliged to manifeſt to the Orders of the King, became diſagreeable to him. *Sigiſmond* eaſily diſcovered the Sentiments of the Duke, and in order to induce him to perſiſt in that Diſpoſition, he entred into a ſecret Teaty with him, promiſing to erect *Lithuania* into a Kingdom in his Favour, and to ſend him the royal Crown as ſoon poſſible, but the Negotiation was diſcovered, and the *Poles* omitted nothing to prevent its Execution.

Vitholda, exaſperted at the Oppoſition that had been formed againſt his Grandeur, retired to *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sigiſmond*, with Inſtructions to preſs him to a Compliance with his Promiſe. The Senat of *Poland*, growing more allarmed at the Reſolution of *Vitholda*, and being likewiſe deſirous to prevent a civil War, thought it expedient to flatter his Ambition, in order to divert him from his ambitious Views. *Sbigna*, Biſhop of *Cracow*, had Orders to offer him the Crown of *Poland*, after the Death of *Jagellon*, and *Vitholda* would have cloſed with ſuch an advantageous Propoſal, if the Shame of diſcontinuing a Project that was ſo far advanced, and the Inſinuations of his Flatterers had

had not prevented him; it became neceſſary therefore to have recourſe to other Meaſures.

The *Poles* cauſed the Pope to be informed of all that had been tranſacted between the Emperor and the Duke of *Lithuania*, to the Prejudice of their Republick, and their Complaints were favourably received. *Martin* V. ſent two different Briefs to *Sigiſmond* and *Vitholda*, by which he prohibited the one from offering, and the other from accepting the Crown.

Sigiſmond, notwithſtanding the Orders of the Pope, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Vitholda*, with Letters, wherein he aſſured him of a ſpeedy Execution of the Treaty between them, and exhorted him to enter into a League, which was then forming between *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the Knights of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, againſt *Poland*; but *Jagellon* having received Information of the Meaſures taken by the Imperial Miniſters, for entring *Lithuania*, cauſed their March to be obſerved by *John Czarnikowſki*, Caſtellan of *Poſnania*, who happily executed the Orders with which he was charged; ſtopped the Ambaſſadors on the Frontiers of *Saxony* and *Poland*, and ſeized their Diſpatches. When the Emperor's Deſigns were known, and when the Danger that threatned the Kingdom became publick, the Gentlemen of upper *Poland* aſſembled of their own accord, and poſted Guards in all the Paſſages; in conſequence of which Proceeding, the other Ambaſſadors whom the Emperor had diſpatched to *Vitholda*, not daring to expoſe themſelves to the Danger of being ſeized, and carried off by the *Poliſh* Troops, returned into *Hungary*, without accompliſhing any Part of their Commiſſion. *Vitholda*, who expected them with Impatience, being informed that they had 1430.

returned without daring to attempt a Paſſage to him, was ſo extremely mortified at that Diſappointment, that he died at *Troki*, in the eightieth Year of his Age, after he had reconciled himſelf with the King of *Poland*.

The Character of *Vithelda*.

This Prince was Maſter of thoſe Qualities and Defects that are uſually obſerved in Heroes. His Ambition was ſupported by an Intrepidity of Mind, which precipitated him into the utmoſt Dangers, and cauſed him to form the greateſt as well as the raſheſt Deſigns. He went to ſeek for *Tamerlane* in the midſt of *Tartary*, and what did he not attempt, in order to obtain the regal Dignity? He was rather feared, than beloved, by his People, and yet they lamented his Death, becauſe he had always been an equitable Judge, tho' he poſſibly might have conducted himſelf with too much Severity. He carried his Frugality into an Abſtemiouſneſs from Wine, during his whole Life, but he preſerved at the ſame Time, an invincible Inclination to the fair Sex, even to the utmoſt Impotency of old Age. The King nominated Prince *Switrigal*, or *Swidrigelon*, his Brother, for his Succeſſor.

1434. The Death of *Jagellon*.

Jagellon died, a few Years after, in a very advanced old Age. *Ladiſlaus* V. his eldeſt Son and Succeſſor, was elected, at the Age of Eleven Years, by the Influence of Cardinal *Sbigneus* Biſhop of *Cracow*, who made the *Poles* ſenſible it was their Intereſt, that *Lithuania*, to whoſe Sovereignty the Houſe of *Jagellon* had an hereditary Right, ſhould continue incorporated with *Poland*; and from that Time, to the Year 1572, when *Sigismund Auguſtus*, the laſt Prince of that Houſe, died, the *Jagellons* always filled the Throne of *Poland*.

Young

Young *Ladiſlaus* was likewiſe elected King of *Hungary*, after the Death of the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, and he was hardly in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne, before he prepared to re-conquer thoſe Places which the *Turks* had wreſted from the Deſpot of *Raſcia*, his Friend and Vaſſal. Some Overtures for an Accommodation were at firſt propoſed, but as *Amurath*, Emperor of the *Turks*, inſiſted on a Tribute, *Ladiſlaus*, by the Perſuaſion of the famous *John Hunniades*, Vaivode of *Tranſylvania*, broke off the Conferences, and War was reſolved upon. 1440.

Its firſt Operations were attended with Succeſs, and *Ladiſlaus* recovered ſeveral Places in *Raſcia*. *Hunniades*, with a ſingle Detachment from the Chriſtian Army, killed 30000 *Turks*, and took 4000 of them Priſoners. The Conquerors afterwards ravaged *Bulgaria*, and the Frontiers of *Macedonia*; and the *Baſha* of *Natolia*, having attempted to oppoſe their Progreſs, was defeated and compelled to have Recourſe to a diſhonourable Flight, among the neighbouring Mountains, with the ſhatter'd Remains of his Army.

Amurath, after the Loſs of this Battle, was compelled to ſue for Peace, and, in order to obtain it, he yielded up all his Conqueſts in *Raſcia*, and *Servia*: But this Treaty was ſoon violated, by the Perſuaſion of Cardinal *Julian* the Pope's Legate, who repreſented to the King, that the *Turks* never made Treaties, but when the Situation of their Affairs would not permit them to continue a War: That *Amurath* was greatly intimidated, and was likewiſe deſtitute of Troops, and defenceleſs; and therefore, that it was neceſſary to compleat his Overthrow, amidſt Conjunctures that were ſo favourable to Chriſtendom. This Diſcourſe

courſe eaſily ſtagger'd a young Prince, who was intoxicated with his firſt Succeſs, and in order to determine him more effectually, the Legate abuſed his Authority ſo far, as to feign the Receipt of a ſpecial Power from the Pope, to abſolve *Ladiſlaus* from the Oath he had taken at the Ratification of the Treaty.

The King, therefore, placed himſelf at the Head of his Army, and marched into *Bulgaria*, where he advanced below *Nicopolis* the Capital of that Province, and then enter'd *Thrace*, where he took ſome Caſtles. His Intention was to attack *Adrianople*; but *Amurath*, tho' he was ſurpriſed at ſuch an unexpected Rupture, yet he was not wanting to himſelf on that Occaſion. He aſſembled a Body of Troops in Haſte, and marched from *Aſia* into *Europe*, notwithſtanding the Efforts of the Chriſtian Fleet, which blocked up the Streights of *Gallipoli*.

The Battle of *Varna*; and Death of *Ladiſlaus*.

The two Armies faced each other near *Varna*, a City of *Moldavia*, when *Amurath*, laying his Hand on the Treaty which had been ſworn to by *Ladiſlaus*, and appealing to God as a Witneſs to the Perfidy of the Chriſtians, who had dared to violate all that was moſt ſacred in their Religion, began the Battle with the greater Confidence of Succeſs, as he declared, that he hoped *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf would eſpouſe his Cauſe; and he, indeed, was victorious. The Chriſtian Troops were put to Flight, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, and the Cardinal *Legate*, who chiefly promoted the Infraction of the Treaty, and the Perjury of *Ladiſlaus*, was involved in the Slaughter. The young King likewiſe periſhed, after he had given Proofs of a Courage much ſuperior to his Age. Thus *Ladiſlaus* fell, after he had reigned Ten Years in *Poland*, and Four in *Hungary*, and before

fore he had attain'd the Age of Twenty one Years.

Caſimir, great Duke of *Lithuania*, and the ſecond Son of *Jagellon*, ſucceeded *Ladiſlaus*: The *Poliſh* Nobility elected him ſoon after the Battle of *Varna*, but he accepted of the Crown with ſome Difficulty, and was not acknowledged, till Three Years after the Death of his Brother.

Moldavia was the Scene of the firſt Operations of the *Poliſh* Arms, under the Reign of this Prince. The Vaivode *Alexander*, who was a Feudatory to the Kingdom of *Poland*, implored the Aſſiſtance of *Caſimir*, againſt *Bogdan*, the natural Son of an ancient Vaivode of that Province, and who pretended to the Sovereignty, on Default of lawful Heirs of his Father. The King ſent *John Olieſki* into that Country, and the Uſurper was compelled to fly: But as ſoon as the *Poliſh* Army had withdrawn, he aſſembled a Band of Robbers, by whoſe Aid he obtain'd ſuch great Advantages, that *Alexander* was obliged to fly into *Podolia*.

A new Army, therefore, was ſent into *Moldavia*; but as ſoon as the Troops appeared, *John* retired to Mountains and Places that were inacceſſible; and as it was impoſſible to come up with him, in order to finiſh, by a Battle, a War which ſpread Deſolation through that Province. An Accommodation was propoſed to him, and he pretended to accept it; but the very Day when the Peace was concluded, the prefidious *Moldavian* attacked the Army, and would eaſily have overwhelmed it, in the Defile it was preparing to enter, if a Deſerter had not, a few Hours before, informed the *Poliſh* Generals of *Bogdan*'s Deſign. Upon this Intelligence they prepared for Action, as much as the Situation of the Place would permit, and they obtain'd a compleat Victory, tho' it proved too fatal to *Poland*, by the Death of

of the Palatine *Leopold*, and of *Nicholas Parawa*, with ſeveral Lords of the firſt Diſtinction.

1452. *Bogdan* was not intimidated by this Defeat, and he ſoon appear'd at the Head of a new Body of Troops; ſo that, in Order to end ſo cruel a War, the Government of *Moldavia* was propoſed to him, during the Minority of the young Vaivode *Alexander*. *Bogdan* accepted this Offer, and was preparing to go to *Kaminiec*, in order to treat with the *Poliſh* Lords, who had been ſent thither by the King, when a *Moldavian*, named *Peter*, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. This *Moldavian* was one of *Alexander*'s Friends, and the Murder was even avowed by that young Prince: But *Peter* had ſecret Pretenſions to the Throne, and he deſtroyed *Bogdan*, with no other View than to ſucceed in his Place. *Alexander* was afterwards poiſoned, and *Peter* found Means to ſupport himſelf in his Uſurpation.

1454. The Yoke of the Teutonic Knights being render'd inſupportable to their Subjects, the Tyranny of this religious Order, effected that in Favour of *Poland*, which, till then, it never had been able to obtain by all its Efforts and Victories. The *Pruſſians* were ſo oppreſſed by the Exactions, and expoſed in ſuch a Manner to the Barbarity of their unrelenting Maſters, that they openly revolted from them. The Knights, amidſt this general Conſpiracy, could only preſerve *Marienburg* and *Schut*; whilſt *Thorn*, *Dantzic*, *Elbing*, *Golub*, *Culm*, and ſeveral other Cities implored the Aſſiſtance of *Caſimir*, and ſollicited him to furniſh them with Troops. The King gave a favourable Reception to their Deputies; created Four Palatines for *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Krowlowgrod*, and

and *Dantzic*; abrogated the exorbitant Impoſts, and prepared to march into *Pruſſia*, to deliver it effectually from the Tyrants, and receive the Homage of his new Subjects.

This firſt Expedition, however, was not ſo ſucceſsful as it was juſt, and *Caſimir* was defeated by an Army of *Germans*, and *Sileſians*. The Siege of *Marienburg*, which the Inhabitants of the Country had attacked inceſſantly for ſeveral Months, was raiſed in Conſequence of this Overthrow.

This Diſgrace was ſo far from diminiſhing the Courage of the *Poles*, that it rather contributed to animate them the more. They defeated the Knights in ſeveral Engagements, made themſelves Maſters of their ſtrongeſt Caſtles, and, at laſt, ſeized the Citdel of *Marienburg*, which was ſurrender'd to them by *Ulric Czirvoncza*, and the Garriſon, with all the Ammunition and Proviſions that bad been depoſited there. 1457.

The Grand Maſter ſtill found Means to aſſemble a great Army, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and recover'd ſome Fortreſſes, which, for a Time, protracted his entire Defeat; but *Caſimir* having eaſily diſperſed theſe new Levies, and taken the City of *Choinicz* by Aſſault, this imperious Order, which had cauſed all the *North* to tremble, was obliged to ſubmit, and humbly ſue for Peace.

This the King of *Poland* was inclinable to grant them, at the Sollicitation of ſeveral Sovereign Princes, and it was concluded at *Thorn*. The Knights yielded up to *Poland*, the Territories of *Culm*, *Michlow*, and the Duchy of *Pomerania*, according to their ancient Limits; and *Marienburg*, *Schut*, *Criſtlurg*, *Elbing*, and *Tolkmith*,

mith, likewiſe continued in the Poſſeſſion of *Poland*. *Caſimir* reſtored to the Knights, the Remainder of his Conqueſts in *Pruſſia*, and it was agreed, that the Grand Maſter ſhould always have a Seat, in the Senate of *Poland*, and that he ſhould come Six Months after his Election, to take an Oath of Fidelity, and render Homage to the King, for *Pruſſia*. Such was the Concluſion of this War, which had filled the *North* with Horror and Deſolation, for the Space of almoſt Two Centuries.

After the Death of the famous *George Poſdziebracki*, King of *Bohemia*, the Barons unanimouſly elected *Ladiſlaus*, the eldeſt Son of *Caſimir*, in Oppoſition to all the Intrigues of *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*. The young Prince immediately ſet out, to receive the Homage of his Subjects, and happily arrived at *Prague*, where he was crowned. The Efforts of his Competitor, to oppoſe him in his Paſſage, were all ineffectual, and *Matthias*, who, in order to place a new Crown on his Head, had exhauſted *Hungary* of its Troops, and left it expoſed to the Invaſions of the *Turks*, was on the point of being render'd the Dupe to his own Ambition. The *Hungarians*, who were diſſatisfied with his Government, aſſembled on a ſudden; upon which they depoſed him, and made a Tender of the Crown to *Caſimir*, the ſecond Son of the King of *Poland*. *Matthias*, at the firſt Intelligence of theſe unpleaſing Events, quitted *Bohemia*, aſſembled a great Army of *Moravians*, and left nothing unattempted to regain the Affection and Confidence of his People. *Caſimir* arrived too late, and was abandon'd with as little Heſitation as he had been elected.

All theſe foreign Expeditions were very expenſive to *Poland*, the People were loaded with ſuch

ſuch Taxations as were before unknown; the Number of Gentlemen was conſiderably diminiſhed, by ſo many Battles, and different Expeditions, in Conſequence of which, *Caſimir* died but little lamented by his Subjects.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND.*

BOOK IV.

1492. WHEN the Ceremonials of the late King's Funeral were over, the general Diet of Election aſſembled at *Piotzkrow*; but full of Tumult and Factions, as are uſual, when a Nation happens to be divided into Two Parties equally potent. The Grand Marſhal of the Crown favoured *Sigiſmond*, one of the Sons of *Caſimir*: *Sbigna*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, had ſecretly promiſed his Vote to the Duke of *Mazovia*; but this Prince conducted himſelf too haughtily on that Occaſion, and it was thought that he would ſeize by

by Violence a Donation that depended on the free Will of the *Poles*, his Deportment, therefore, was the Cauſe of his Excluſion, and *John Albert*, who was but the third Son of *Caſimir*, and who was never thought of at firſt, was unanimouſly elected and acknowledged.

His Election was hardly over, before the *Ve-* 1493.
netians, on one Side, diſpatched a ſplendid Embaſſy to compliment him on his Acceſſion to the Crown, and to engage him in a League againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, the *Turks*, who, on the other Side, being apprehenſive of an Attack from too many Enemies at once, ſent Preſents to the new King, and propoſed a Truce for ſome Years. *Albert* did not think it expedient to declare himſelf at the Commencement of his Reign, on an Article of that Importance, and did not come to any Reſolution till the ſucceeding Year.

War was then determined upon, in a Confe- 1494.
rence at *Livocz*, between *Albert*, and his Brother *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*. This Expedition was undertaken from a ſecret Motive to avenge their Unkle *Ladiſlaus*, who loſt his Life in the Battle of *Varnes*, but they concealed their Deſign for ſome Time, with a Reſolution to declare themſelves at the firſt favourable Conjuncture.

Stephen, Vaivode of *Moldavia*, and a Vaſſal of *Poland*, ſoon furniſhed them with the Opportunity they deſired. He came to implore the Aſſiſtance of his Lord, the King of *Poland*, againſt the *Turks*, who ravaged his Province, and the Two Princes thought that Pretext ſufficient to authorize a War againſt that formidable Enemy

to Chriſtianity. *Albert* advanced towards *Walachia*, with an Army of Eighty Thouſand Men, and Thirty Thouſand Waggons, loaded with Arms and Baggage. The Vaivode had engaged to furniſh the *Poles* with Proviſion and Forage, but whether it was, that he made a private Agreement with the *Turks*, or that he intended to render his Perfidy meritorious to the *Sultan*, this Prince was unpunctual to his Promiſe, and abandoned the Army in the utmoſt Extremity. The exaſperated *Poles* turned thoſe Forces againſt him, which were intended for the Humiliation of the *Turk*, and they beſieged the City of *Soczawa*, the Capital of *Moldavia*. They were even preparing to force the Place, and puniſh the *Walachian* for his Crime, when *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, concerted Meaſures for an Accommodation, which was accepted by the Vaivode, with no other View, than to deceive the *Poles* anew. The Treaty being therefore concluded, the King, finding his Troops fatigued, and being likewiſe indiſpoſed himſelf, took the Rout to *Poland*, without the leaſt Suſpicion of Treachery; but as ſoon as the Army had advanced into the Foreſt of *Bukow*, the Vaivode, who was there poſted in Ambuſcade, attacked them on all Sides; threw the Troops into Diſorder; carried off a great Number of Priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Dukes, and Palatinates; and would have taken the King himſelf, if a large Body of his beſt Troops, had not performed Prodigies of Valour, in his Defence; and when the *Poliſh* Forces had diſengaged themſelves from that unfavourable Situation, they were again attacked on the Banks of the *Pruth*: But as the *Walachians* were then no longer in their Foreſts, the *Poles* defeated thoſe

thoſe infamous Foes, and puniſhed them for their Perfidy.

The *Turks*, ſome Years after this Event, having made an Irruption into *Ruſſia*, *Albert* marched againſt them and defeated their Troops, tho' they were much more numerous than his own, and Forty Thouſand of the Infidels were ſlain in the Field of Battle. The *Poliſh* Soldiers afterwards found ſeveral of the Enemies wounded Men, who had concealed themſelves in the Bellies of their Horſes, and were then dead. The ſhatter'd Remains of the *Ottoman* Army fled into *Moldavia*, to the Vaivode *Stephen*; but as the *Turks*, when they were purſued by their Conquerors, had quitted their Turbans for *Poliſh* Habits, their Ally himſelf was deceived by this Diſguiſe, and attacked them with a Body of Troops, who ſlew above Ten Thouſand of the Infidels. 1498.

This fortunate Event happen'd a few Years before the Death of the King, who was taken off by an Apoplectic Fit, in the Forty firſt Year of his Age, and after he had reigned Twelve Years and Eight Months. 1501.

The Choice of a Succeſſor was attended with great Conteſts. The Diet was held at *Piotzkow*, where Three Competitors, who had equal Pretenſions to the Throne, made their Appearance. *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and eldeſt Son of the late King *Caſimir*, magnified his Power, his Riches, and his Age; together with the Advantages the *Poles* would derive from the Union of the Forces of Two ſuch neighbouring Kingdoms. He had likewiſe a great Number of the Nobility, whom he had gain'd over to his Intereſt by Liberalities. *Sigiſmund* Duke

of *Glogaw* had the Affection of the People, whom his Merit and Virtues had engaged in his Intereſt; but *Alexander*, the third Son of *Caſimir*, was, after ſeveral long Conferences, preferred before his Two Brothers. As he was Great Duke of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* were apprehenſive that he would vacate the Treaties made by *Jagellon*, if they did not place him on the Throne. In this Manner did the Intereſt of the Republic, which diſcover'd ſuch great Advantages in the Union of the Two States, prevail over all other Conſiderations, and *Alexander* was declared the Succeſſor to his Brother.

The Reign of this Prince was render'd memorable by a Victory obtain'd over the *Tartars*. *Alexander* was indiſpoſed when theſe *Barbarians* made an Irruption into *Lithuania*; but he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a Litter, at the Head of his Army, and advanced againſt his Enemies; and when the Two Armies were on the Point of engaging, the Palatine of *Poſnania*, who arrived from *Vilna*, appear'd on the Top of a Hill, with Three Hundred Men, who attended him as a Guard, and in order to make them appear more numerous, he diſpoſed them into one Line in Front. The *Tartars*, who imagined a new Body of Troops were advancing to the Aſſiſtance of the *Lithuanians*, were immediately ſtruck with Conſternation. General *Staniſlaus Kiſka*, immediately improved this Circumſtance by a ſudden Attack upon the Enemy, over whom he gain'd a compleat Victory. The King, who was ſeized with the Agonies of Death when he received the News of this fortunate Event, collected all the Remainders of his Strength, in order to render his Acknowledgements to the Deity, and

as

as he was then deprived of his Speech, he expreſſed by Motions, his Gratitude to Heaven, and his Joy for the Defeat of his People's Enemies. He died the next Moment, at the Age of Forty Five Years, having reigned Fourteen Years in *Lithuania*, and Five in *Poland*.

His Succeſſor *Sigiſmond* I. employed the firſt Years of his Reign, in reforming thoſe Abuſes which had crept into the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. The richeſt Domains of the Crown were mortgaged, and the Treaſury was exhauſted by immenſe Penſions. *Sigiſmond*, by the Aid of *John Bonner*, a Miniſter whoſe Diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his Abilities, rectified theſe Diſorders, and when he had modelled the Government of the interior Parts of the Kingdom into a better Form, his next Care was to extend his Limits, and make himſelf reſpected by his Neighbours. 1507. *Sigiſmond* I.

Baſilius, Czar or Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*, having made an Irruption upon the Frontiers of *Poland*, with an Army of Eighty Thouſand Horſe, was purſued by *Sigiſmond* in his Retreat; The Two Armies confronted each other, when the *Muſcovites*, who were ſeized with a Panic at the Sight of the *Poliſh* Battalions, who were armed with a Foreſt of Lances, had recourſe to an ignominious Flight, without once daring to engage, and they left all their Booty and Baggage behind them. The *Walachians* enter'd black *Ruſſia*, about the ſame Time; ſurpriſed *Leopold* the Capital of that Province, and ſpread the Devaſtations of Fire and Sword wherever they came: But the *Poles* ſoon made cruel Repriſals in *Walachia*. The Vaivode and his Troops, who were habituated to Inroads and Depredations, were

incapable of maintaining their Ground, before an Army of Troops who obſerved all the Rules of military Diſcipline; and they ſlunk into the Wilds of their Foreſts. The Cities of *Dorichim*, *Sczepanowits*, *Czarnovicz*, and *Chezim*, were taken by Storm, and ſacked by the *Poles*, who retired with immenſe Spoils: The *Walachians* attacked them in their Return, at the Paſs of the *Nieſter*, but were repulſed with Loſs.

1514. The War againſt the *Muſcovites* ſtill continued, tho' its Operations were not attended with Vigor, and no memorable Action was performed for ſeveral Years. When ever that People preſumed to paſs the Boundaries which ſeparated the Two Dominions, the Appearance of the *Poles*, and the Terrors of their Arms, were ſufficient to diſperſe their Enemies. During theſe Tranſactions, a *Muſcovite* Officer ſurpriſed *Smolenſko* on the Frontiers of *Lithuania*, and the Czar, in order to preſerve his Conqueſt, marched thither with a great Body of Horſe. *Sigiſmond* oppoſed him with no more than Thirty Thouſand *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, and the *Muſcovite* Forces retired, at the firſt Appearance of theſe Troops, and ſhelter'd themſelves on the oppoſite Bank of the *Boriſthenes*, whoſe Rapidity and ſteep Shoar ſeem'd a ſufficient Security to them. But *Conſtantine Oſtrouki*, who commanded the *Poliſh* Troops, ſoon ſurmounted theſe Obſtacles, and threw a Bridge, with great Expedition, over the River, above the Caſtle of *Orſha*, and while the Infantry marched over it, the Cavalry ſwam croſs that deep River in the View of the *Muſcovites*. The *Poles* intrenched themſelves on the Shore, where they reſted themſelves for ſome Hours, and then marched as to a Victory that was infallible. The *Lithu-*

Lithuanians began the Action, and then retreated by Degrees, to draw on the *Muſcovites* within Cannon Shot, and thoſe *Barbarians*, who fought without the leaſt Art or Regularity, were eaſily betrayed into the Snare, and miſtook this Stratagem for a real Flight. When they had advanced within a proper Diſtance, the *Lithuanians* open'd their Ranks, to afford a Paſſage to the Shot, which made a dreadful Havock, and ſwept away moſt of the Enemies Squadrons, whoſe Overthrow was eaſily compleated by the *Poles*. Thoſe who eſcaped the Conquerors Sword, betook themſelves to Flight, with ſo much Precipitation and Diſorder, that moſt of them were drowned in paſſing the River *Cropirna*, which flows into the *Boriſthenes* between *Orſha* and *Dulrow*. It was reported for certain, that 42000 *Muſcovites* were ſlain in the Field of Battle, without including thoſe who periſhed in their Flight: The *Muſcovite* General, and Two Noblemen of the firſt Diſtinction, were made Priſoners, and this Victory, which coſt the *Poles* but Three Hundred Men, diffuſed the Terror of their Name through all *Muſcovy*.

Baſilius was ſtruck with ſuch a Conſternation at the News of this Overthrow, that he retired from *Smolenſko*, which was immediately beſieged by the *Poles*; but as they were loaded with Spoils, and the numerous Garriſon that defended the Place, were in a Condition to draw the Siege into a great Length, the Beſiegers contented themſelves with forming a Blockade, by diſpoſing their Troops into Three important Poſts, adjacent to the City, and then they retired.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Albert* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and Grand Maſter of the Teutonic 1520.

Order, refuſed to pay to King *Sigiſmond* the Fealty and Homage he owed him for the Province of *Pruſſia*, and commenced a War by attacking the Fortreſs of *Brauntberg*, which he carried by Aſſault: But the King having raiſed a numerous Army, marched againſt the Rebel, and made himſelf Maſter of *Mielſac*, and the Citadel of *Holland*, and then, making the beſt Improvement of theſe Advantages, he penetrated farther into the Territories of the Grand Maſter, and ſacked ſeveral Cities in *Brandenburg*.

Albert, being thus vigorouſly preſſed, was preparing to ſue for Peace, when *Wolfang*, Duke of *Schonenburg*, came to his Aſſiſtance, with an Army of 14000 *Germans*. This General beſieged *Dantzic*, and ravaged the adjacent Country, but the Artillery of the Place was ſo well employed, and the Inhabitants made ſuch a gallant Defence, that they were in no need of Succours to repel the Enemy who beſieged them. The Cannon of the Town thunder'd upon their Camp, and they were ſoon deſtitute of Proviſions, in a Country which they themſelves had laid deſolate: and as ſeveral epidemic Diſtempers raged among their Troops, they were compelled to raiſe the Siege in an ignominious Manner. Twelve Thouſand *Poliſh* Horſe fell upon them in their Retreat, and deſtroyed a great Number of their Men; the reſt were ſlaughter'd by the Peaſants of *Pomerania*, where the Remains of this unfortunate Army had retired for Refuge.

This Victory was ſucceeded by the Surrender of *Dirſchaw*, *Stargard*, and the Caſtle of *Choincz*; ſo that *Albert*, who was now deſtitute of all Reſourſes, was conſtrain'd to reſign himſelf to the Clemency of his Conqueror.

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The Doctrines of *Luther* had already made a great Progreſs in *Germany*, under the Protection of the Dukes of *Saxony*; and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* having embraced them, after the Example of ſeveral neighbouring Princes, entirely quitted the Religion in which he had been educated. He likewiſe enter'd into a Treaty with *Sigiſmond*, in Conſequence of which, he abandon'd the Intereſt of the Teutonic Order, whoſe firſt Station he had poſſeſſed, and it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould Share *Pruſſia* with the King; and that the Marquiſs, in the Quality of a ſecular Duke, ſhould hold as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*, that Part of the Province which had been allotted him. Thus was *Pruſſia* wreſted from the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who had enjoyed it for the Space of Three Centuries. This Treaty was, in Reality, very advantageous to the Republic, and for ever extinguiſhed thoſe Flames of War which ſhe had Reaſon to apprehend from her ambitious Neighbours; but it was alſo as fatal to the *Romiſh* Religion, and open'd a Door to *Lutheraniſm* which diffuſed it ſelf from *Pruſſia* to *Poland*. 1525.

Some Years after this Event, *Peter*, or *Petrillon*, Vaivode of *Walachia*, advanced into the ſmall Province of *Pokutia*, where he burnt *Sniatyn*. Count *Tarno*, at the News of this Irruption, marched againſt the *Walachian* Prince, with a Body of 6000 Men, and fortified himſelf in the Town of *Oberſtin*; and tho' the Enemy, to the Number of 50000 Men, poſſeſſed the neighbouring Heights, he yet had the Bravery to engage them; but, inſtead of attacking them in Front, he fell upon their Flank, whilſt ſeveral Pieces of Cannon play'd upon the firſt Lines of their Army: And the Fire was ſo violent, that the

the Main Body of their Army was forced upon the Wings: This Movement created a general Confuſion, in Conſequence of which they were entirely defeated, and the Vaivode, who was dangerouſly wounded, ſaved himſelf with great Difficulty.

After the Death of *Baſilius*, Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*, *Ouczina*, who was conſtituted Regent of that Duchy, during the Minority of the young Czar, made ſeveral Inrodes into *Lithuania*, and penetrated into the Country adjacent to *Vilna*; but the brave Count *Tarno*, who had ſo lately ſignalized his Valour by defeating the *Walachians*, placed himſelf at the Head of the *Lithuanian* and *Poliſh* Troops, and ſoon diſperſed the Enemy: But, as he thought this Advantage not ſufficient; he enter'd *Muſcovy*, in his Turn; took the Caſtle of *Hemell*, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon there. He then beſieged *Strarodub*, where the Tutor of the young Duke, had ſhut himſelf up with ſeveral of the principal Noblemen of *Ruſſia*. The Troops of the Garriſon, who were commanded and animated by the braveſt Men in *Muſcovy*, defended themſelves in a gallant Manner. The *Poliſh* Artillery made but little Impreſſions on the Walls of the Place, which were built with Beams riveted together, and ſupported by a Bulwark of Earth; but a certain Engineer having directed the Troops to fire thoſe Paliſades with Pitch and Cannon Powder, the Flame, augmented by the Wind, became immediately ſo violent, that the Fortifications were ſoon reduced to Aſhes. The Fire was likewiſe communicated to the City it ſelf, which compelled the Regent of *Muſcovy*, and the Lords who accompanyed her, to ſurrender, in order to eſcape the Flames. The *Poles* carried off Sixty Thouſand Priſoners of all Ages, and Ranks, together with an immenſe Booty.

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The Affairs of the *Muſcovites* are ſo interwoven with the Hiſtory of *Poland*, that it will not be improper to give ſome Account, of the Country it ſelf, and the Strength of that Nation.

Muſcovy has the frozen Sea for its Northern Limit; the River *Oby* divides it from Grand *Tartary*, to the *Eaſt*; and it is bounded, on the *Weſt*, by *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and the Territories of the King of *Sweden*. Its Breadth is almoſt equal to its Length, and the whole comprehends an Extent of Six Hundred Leagues. This vaſt Country is watered, firſt by the *Volga*, which flows through the Kingdoms of *Cazan*, and *Aſtracan*, and then diſcharges it ſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea; ſecondly, by the *Dwina*, which falls into the white Sea, near *Archangel*; thirdly, by the *Oby*, which takes its Courſe from Grand *Tartary*, and diſgorges its Waters into the frozen Sea of *Nova Zembla*; fourthly, by the *Boriſthenes*, or *Nieper*, which has been render'd ſo famous, by the Iſles inhabited by the *Coſſaques*, and laſtly, by the *Don*, which loſes it ſelf in the black Sea, near the *Palus Mæotis*.

It is not eaſy to determine the Number of Provinces in *Muſcovy*. *Muſcovy*, properly ſo called, and in which the Capital is ſituated; *Siberia*; *Lubomiria*; *Rezan* and *Laponia*, are the moſt famous of all. *Moſcow*, which receives its Name from the River on which it is ſeated; *Wolodomir*, *Novogrod*, and *Archangel*, are its fineſt Cities. The Czar *Peter* lately built a new one on the *Baltic* Sea, which he diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Peterſburg*.

The Prince exerciſes a deſpotic Power over his People, who are rather Slaves than Subjects. An Opinion, render'd venerable by Antiquity, in Conjunction with the Prejudices of Education, has impreſſed the Hearts of the *Muſcovites* with a ſervile

a ſervile Reſpect, and a blind Obedience to their Czar, and they perhaps conſider him with more Veneration than they offer to the Deity himſelf. The eſtabliſhed Religion is formed out of the Doctrines of the *Greek* Church, tho' blended with a Variety of Superſtitions. Several of their Provinces are inhabited by Idolaters, who bear the Name of Chriſtians, tho' they have no Knowledge of the Saviour of the World. St. *Nicholas* is the Protector of *Ruſſia*, which renders him Honours that are almoſt divine.

There are but Two Archbiſhops in *Muſcovy*, one of whom is the Patriarch and Metropolitan of thoſe vaſt Dominions. The Number of Biſhops is likewiſe very inconſiderable. They are habited in a Caſſock of black Silk, over which is thrown a Mantle, adorned with Three white Fringes. They are generally taken out of Monaſteries, where the moſt auſtere Regulations are obſerved.

With Reſpect to the Manners of this Nation, the *Muſcovites* are a ſuperſtitious, illiterate and brutal People; ſervilely bending under the Yoke of their Prince, and not daring to quit their Country without his Permiſſion. They are but little acquainted with the polite Arts, and as they never travel into other Countries, their vaſt Foreſts, cover'd with eternal Snow, ſeem a delightful Region to them. They formerly were prohibited the Uſe of Wine, but their chief Feſtivals, and particularly that of their Patron St. *Nicholas*, were exempted from that Reſtriction, and for that Reaſon, were generally ſignalized by ſome drunken Maſſacre. Their Courage is far from being extraordinary, and their Victories are only owing to Numbers. They are abject Enemies; and untractable Conquerors; they bow down

down at the leaſt Reſiſtance, and uſe their Advantages like real *Barbarians*. Their Cities are all fortified, and a Battery of Four Pieces of Cannon, would lay their ſtrongeſt Ramparts in Ruins. The Czar *Peter* has poliſhed their Manners in ſome Meaſure, and, in order to introduce the Arts among them, he came to cultivate an Acquaintance with them in *Holland*, *England* and *France*.

They had formerly a great Number of Princes, and were, in a Manner, Slaves to the Cham of thoſe *Tartars* who inhabit the Country beyond the *Volga*, but one of their Dukes ſhook off that Yoke, at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century; he likewiſe conquered *Novogrod* and *Moſcow*, and laid the Foundations of the vaſt Empire of *Ruſſia*.

The Reign of *Sigiſmond* I. was a continual Scene of Conqueſts and Proſperity to *Poland*. This Prince, when he had repreſſed the Inſolence of the Enemies to that State, and had afterwards cauſed his People to enjoy the Fruits of a long and happy Peace; died at the Age of Eighty Four, and after a Reign of Forty Two Years. His Epitaph, which is in the Royal Chapel of the Church of *Cracow*, contains his Panegyric, in the following Strain. 1548. The Death of *Sigiſmond* I.

Divus Sigiſmundus Jagellonius, Poloniæ Rex, & Lithuaniæ Dux Magnus, Scithicus, Valachius, Moſchoviticus, Pruſſicus, Victor ac Triumphator, Pater Patriæ, in hoc Monumentum, a ſe magnificentiſſime erectum, illatus requieſcit.

Sigiſmond II. ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, was elected and crowned in the Life Time of his Father: He was therefore acknowledged without any Difficulty, and *Poland* was not then the Spectator of thoſe *Sigiſmond* II.

He was obliged to render Homage to the King of *Poland*, as a Vaſſal to the Crown; he was likewiſe to diſcharge the Expences of the War, and to make Reſtitution to the Archbiſhop, for all the Loſſes he had ſuſtained.

That Branch of the Teutonic Order, in whom the Sovereignty of *Livonia* was veſted, did not ſpring from the ſame Original as the Knights of *Pruſſia*. In the Year 1200, *Meinhard*, a Native of *Lubec*, preached the Goſpel to the *Livonians*, and was conſecrated Biſhop of their Country, by the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*. Chriſtianity made a great Progreſs at firſt, and ſeveral Lords were baptized by *Meinhard*, but under *Beathold* his Succeſſor, a cruel Perſecution was raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, whoſe Conduct might perhaps be contrary to the Maxims of the Goſpel, when they took up Arms againſt the Infidels. This War gave Birth to an Order which aſſumed the Name of *Knights of the ſhort Sword*. The Body of this new Militia increaſed in a ſhort Time, and cauſed the Territories they had conquered from the Infidels, to be adjudged to them. But as they grew too weak to he able to ſupport themſelves alone, they were incorporated into the Order of the *Pruſſian* Knights of the Croſs, tho' they had their own Grand Maſters, and Commanders.

The Order of *Livonia* had ſcarce placed it ſelf under the Protection of the King, before the Czar entered that Province, and took the City of *Derpt*, which occaſioned the cruel War, with which *Poland* and *Muſcovy* were ſo long harraſſed.

Sigiſmond oppoſed the Czar's Invaſion, and inſiſted on his Reſtitution of the Place he had lately ſeized, with a Denunciation of War againſt him, in Caſe of a Refuſal. *John Baſilides* would not vouchſafe any Anſwer to the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors,

dors, and they had no ſooner quitted his Dominions, than he entered *Lithuania* with an Army of 300000 Men. *Polocz* was incapable of reſiſting theſe numerous Troops, and the City of *Derpt* was carried by Aſſault and ſacked. The *Muſcovites* took 80000 Priſoners, amongſt whom were a great Number of *Jews*, who, after an obſtinate Refuſal to ſubmit to Baptiſm, were drowned in the River *Dzwina*, the Ice of which was broken for this cruel Purpoſe; but a Body of 1500 *Poles*, defeated, in the next Campaign, an Army of 40000 *Ruſſians*, of whom they ſlew 15000 upon the Spot, and diſperſed the reſt.

An Accommodation was, however, propoſed, and *Sigiſmond* diſpatched an Embaſſy into *Muſcovy*, but *John Baſilides* acted an inſincere Part, by amuſing the *Poliſh* Miniſters, with various Pretexts, and he broke off the Conference as ſoon as his Troops were in a Condition to take the Field. The *Ruſſian* Army was divided into Two Bodies; one of which marched towards *Smolenſko*, under the Conduct of General *Srebny*, and the other, which was commanded by *Peter Swiſki*, advanced farther, and encamped in the Plains of *Czaſnitz* near the River *Uſla*. *Nicholas Radzivil* Palatine of *Vilna*, General of the *Lithuanian* Troops, and *Gregory Chodkievicz*, Marſhal of the Camp, having received Intelligence, by Spies, that the *Ruſſians* did not keep any ſtrict Guard in their Camp, attacked them on a ſudden. The Confuſion created by this Surpriſe, in Conjunction with the Ardour of the Aſſailants, render'd the *Muſcovites* incapable of defending themſelves, and they were forced in their Intrenchments before they could Arm for the Engagement. Thirty Thouſand Men fell beneath the Sword of the Conqueror; the reſt had Recourſe to Flight, and were either drown-

ed in the adjacent Marſhes, or ſlaughter'd by the Peaſants, who did not ſpare even the General himſelf, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. The other *Ruſſian* Troops, who were poſted near *Orſha*, having received Intelligence of the Defeat of their Companions, immediately quitted *Lithuania*, with ſo much Terror and Precipitation, that they left their Baggage with all their military Equipage, in their Camp.

The ſame Year was likewiſe rendered remarkable by a Victory, which *Staniſlaus Pacz*, Palatine of *Witepſk*, obtain'd over 30000 *Muſcovites*, who beſieged the Caſtle of *Jezeriſk*. *Pacz* had only 3000 Men, whom he conſigned to the Command of the Standard-bearer of his Palatinate, and of *John Swiporod*; and theſe Two Officers made ſuch a vigorous Attack upon the Lines of the Beſiegers, that they entirely forced them, after an Engagement in which the Enemy loſt Eight Thouſand Men.

This War continued for ſome Years, with almoſt an equality of Advantage on each Side; and if the *Muſcovites* were compelled to withdraw into their own Country after a Defeat, they ſoon returned with a greater Body of Troops, whoſe Number made them a Compenſation for their Loſſes. In vain were they conquered, near the Lake of *Sitno*, and afterwards near the Fortreſs of *Vieliſs*: for they ſoon retook the Field with new Troops, and continued their Devaſtations.

1568. *Sigiſmond*, in order to check theſe cruel Ravages, reſolved to Attack theſe Deſtroyers in their own Country, and to carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of *Muſcovy*, with an Army of 100000 Men, but he was unſucceſsful in his Expedition. The *Muſcovites* had learned the Art of War, by their frequent Defeats, and became,

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at leaſt, capable of making a Reſiſtance. The *Poles* beſieged the Fortreſs of *Ula* to no Effect; for the *Ruſſians* threw in a Body of Succours, and *Sigiſmond* was obliged to raiſe the Siege. Some ſhort Time after which, *Romain Sanguſko*, Grand Marſhal of *Lithuania*, obliterated this Affront by the bloody Defeat of the *Ruſſian* Army. He even ſurpriſed *Ula*, where *Sigiſmond* had been unſucceſsful, after which he burnt the Place, and cut the Garriſon to Pieces.

The Two Nations being equally fatigued with the War, agreed to a Truce for Three Years, during which Interval, *Sigiſmond Auguſtus* died at *Chinitz* in *Lithuania*, from whence his Body was afterwards conveyed to *Cracow*, and depoſited by that of his Father.

This wiſe and gentle Prince would never permit the Sword to be drawn againſt thoſe of his Subjects who adhered to the new Opinions. *Rome* blamed him for this Moderation, and imputed it to him as a Crime. He had always an Inclination to Peace, when he conceived it to be advantageous to his People, over whom God had placed him; but he always had Recourſe to War, when he found it neceſſary: And the Welfare of the Public was the conſtant Motive to his Conduct in each of theſe Conjunctures. Towards the Cloſe of his Life, he indulged himſelf with a Miſtreſs, who had an abſolute Diſpoſal of all his Favours, and the Exceſſes he committed in his Intercourſe with her, in Conjunction with his Age and Infirmities, haſten'd his Death. As he left no Iſſue, the Male Line of the *Jagellons*, who had reigned about Two Hundred Years in *Poland*, namely, from the Year 1386, became extinct by his Death, which likewiſe cauſed an Interregnum, and gave Birth to all thoſe Intrigues we are preparing to relate.

When the ſeveral leſſer Diets, as well of the Kingdom of *Poland*, as of the Great Duchy of *Lithuania*, were over, the *Nuncio*'s aſſembled at the general Diet, which was ſummon'd to be held at *Warſaw*. The Pope diſpatched a Legate thither, to exhort the *Poles* to elect a Catholic Prince, and to oppoſe the Meaſures the Proteſtants might happen to take, during the Interregnum; but notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of this Apoſtolic Miniſter, they enter'd into a Confederacy with the Evangelics, and in order to the Preſervation of Peace, it was mutually agreed between them, that no difference in religious Opinions ſhould create any Diviſion between the Subjects of the ſame Kingdom, and that all the *Poles* ſhould be capable of public Offices, without any Diſcrimination; and it was even agreed, that it would be neceſſary to oblige the future King to ſwear expreſsly, that he would cultivate a Peace between his Subjects, of different Perſuaſions; and *Henry* of *Valois*, and *Stephen Batto*, were compelled to the Obſervation of this new Law.

Erneſtus of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Maximilian*; the King of *Sweden*, and his Son the Duke of *Pruſſia*; the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Marquiſs of *Anſpach*, declared themſelves Candidates, and diſpatched their Ambaſſadors to the Diet. The Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* ſoon ſupplanted all thoſe of the Competitors, who were ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, and would have obtain'd the Crown, amidſt the firſt Proceedings of the Diet, if the *Poles* could have imagined him worthy to wear it; but their Eſteem for this Prince was ſo inconſiderable, that they gave the Preference to *William* of *Roſemberg*, his Ambaſſador; and if this Miniſter had been Maſter of Courage enough to accept their Offers, he might

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have acquired all the Suffrages he came to ſollicit for his Sovereign.

Erneſtus of *Auſtria*, being ſupported by the Legate's Faction, would have been elected at laſt, for want of other Candidates, if Chance had not preſented a Competitor, who had never appeared till then, and was even unknown to the *Poles*.

John Craſoſki, a *Poliſh* Gentleman of great Abilities, but very ſmall of Stature, had made a Tour to the Court of *France*, where he had been well received, and had render'd himſelf univerſally agreeable. The good Graces of Queen *Catherine* of *Medicis*, which he had the Dexterity to acquire, procured him very conſiderable Advantages; and when he had obtain'd an ample Fortune, he had an Inclination to re-viſit his own Country. *Sigiſmond Auguſtus* was not dead, when this Gentleman arrived; and all the *Poliſh* Lords, who had but little Knowledge of the Court of *France*, were curious to converſe with him upon that Subject, and he charmed them with the Relations he gave them. He deſcribed the Magnificence and Pleaſures of that ſhining Court, and above all Things, enhanced the Merit of the Duke of *Anjou*, to whom he had a Number of peculiar Obligations. He is, ſaid this Gentleman, an accompliſhed Prince, and a young Hero, who has already gained ſeveral Battles, and whom Fortune has never abandoned on any Occaſion. The *Poliſh* Lords immediately conceived a high Idea of this Prince, and had an Inclination, upon the Death of *Sigiſmond*, to make him a Tender of the Crown. *Craſoſki* confirmed them in theſe Sentiments, and returned to *France*, by their Order, to acquaint the King and Queen, that the Duke of *Anjou* would be elected, if Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Poland*, from *France*. In this Manner was a meer Dwarf entruſted with the moſt

important Negotiation. *Charles* IX. had no Affection for his Brother, and as he was jealous of his Reputation, and likewiſe of the Tenderneſs of the Queen-Mother for that Prince, he was deſirous of having him at a Diſtance from himſelf. The Pretext was now too plauſible, to be neglected, and when the Dwarf informed the King of the Diſpoſitions entertained by the *Poliſh* Nobility in that Prince's Favour, *Charles* did not heſitate a Moment, but ſent to *Poland*, *John* de *Montluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, *Gille de Noailles*, *Abbe* of *Liſle*, and *Guy de* St. *Gelais de Lanſar*, in the Quality of Embaſſadors extraordinary. The Eloquence and Obſequiouſneſs of *Montluc*; the Sums he diſtributed, and the Profuſion of his Promiſes, operating in Conjunction with the *Poliſh* Averſion to a *German* Prince, and the late Example of *Bohemia*, whom the Houſe of *Auſtria* had reſolved to diveſt of her Liberty, influenced the Minds of the Electors ſo effectually, that they all voted in Favour of *Henry* of *Valois*.

The *French* Miniſters were obliged to take an Oath, that their Maſter ſhould maintain the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*; after which *Henry* was elected, and proclaimed King, by the Palatine of *Cracow*, and *Kodkieviczki*, Grand General of *Lithuania*. The Act of Election was then prepared, and depoſited in the Hands of the Ambaſſadors who were choſen to wait on the new King in *France*. They were Twelve in Number, and their Chief was *Adam Conarſki* Biſhop of *Poſnan*, and their Train was compoſed of Two Hundred Gentlemen. Their Reception at *Paris* was very magnificent, and the Court omitted nothing that could properly ſupport the Idea that had been formed in *Poland*, of the Grandeur and Riches of *France*. *Henry*, at that

that Time, beſieged *Rochell*, which was the ſtrongeſt Bulwark the *Hugonots* poſſeſſed, and they defended it with ſo much Bravery, that this Prince was happy in being preſented with ſo honourable a Pretext, for raiſing the Siege, without any Diminution of his Glory. He therefore departed, at the repeated Inſtances of the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors, and by the Orders of his Brother; but he quitted *France* with Regret, and, poſſibly, with an Intention to return thither in a ſhort Time.

The Queen-Mother attended him as far as *Lorrain*, after which he paſſed through *Germany*, and was complimented at *Heidelberg*, by *Chriſtopher*, Son of the Elector Palatine, who received him in a Manner truly magnificent, and, at the ſame Time created him no little Mortification, by conſigning to him an Apartment, in which were ſeveral Pictures, that repreſented the dreadful Maſſacre at *Paris*, on the Night after St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, and which was perpetrated by the Counſel and Orders of *Henry* himſelf. The *Poles* received him on their Frontiers, and conducted him to *Cracow*, where he was crowned ſome Days after.

Henry was well ſhaped, his Air was majeſtic, and he was then in the amiable Flower of his Youth. He expreſſed himſelf with a graceful Eaſe; Eloquence was his natural Accompliſhment, and he underſtood *Latin* as well as *French*. He was magnificent, in thoſe Ceremonies wherein it was neceſſary to ſupport the Royal Majeſty in its due Luſtre. He was always liberal, and ſometimes to an Exceſs, and his Affability and Politeneſs were extraordinary: In a Word, he ſoon won all the Hearts of the *Poles*, who hoped that ſo ſhining an Exterior, preſaged a moſt happy Reign: But *Henry* of *Valois*, was hardly upon the Throne of *Poland*, before *Charles* his Brother di-

ed without Male Iſſue. The Queen immediately diſpatched to him ſeveral Courriers, one after another, to urge his Return into *France*, where his Preſence was neceſſary, but as he was apprehenſive, that the *Poles* would oppoſe his Departure, and detain him againſt his Will, he concealed his Deſign from them, and ſtole out of his Palace, by Night, in Diſguiſe, in order to ride Poſt to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, and from thence to *France*, by the Way of *Italy*. The *Poles*, who were apprehenſive of his Eſcape, immediately perceived it, and ſent after him. *John Zamoſki* overtook him ſome Leagues from *Cracow*, and had Recourſe, tho' in vain, to the humbleſt Prayers, and even to Tears, to prevail upon him to return.

The People grew deſperate at the News of the King's Departure, and if the Magiſtrate of *Cracow* had not poſted Guards in the Streets, to repreſs them, the *French*, who were then in the City, and were look'd upon as ſo many prefidious Perſons, would have been maſſacred. *Pibrac*, who had followed the King in his Flight, and afterwards ſtruck out of the right Road, wou'd not have eſcaped the Fury of the Peaſants who purſued him, if he had not concealed himſelf in a Marſh, where he was detained a long Time by his Fears, and till he was on the very Point of periſhing by Cold.

Charles of *Danzai*, whom *Henry* had left in *Poland*, to make his Excuſes to the Republic, for ſo precipitate a Departure, unfolded the Motives of his Maſter, with great Eloquence, in a full Senate: *Henry* likewiſe wrote to the chief of the Nobility, on the ſame Subject, but all this did not ſatisfy the *Poles*, who thought themſelves deſpiſed, and they reproached the Prince for his clandeſtine Retreat, and his Indifference for a People who had teſtified ſo much Eſteem for him.

Henry,

Henry, when he left *Poland*, imagined that he was quitting a barbarous Country, to take Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom abounding with Pleaſures: but he was deceived in his Expectations; for his Reign, was only a melancholy Series of Calamities, and inteſtine Wars, and it cloſed with the Aſſaſſination of that Prince.

The *Poles*, being thus abandoned by their Sovereign, acquainted him by Letters, that the Neceſſities of the State, and the Dangers which threaten'd the Republic, prevailed over the uſual Attachment of that Nation to its Princes, and that if he did not return to *Poland*, they would immediately proceed to a new Election, to which however, they ſhould have no Inclination, till he had informed them whether he would reſume the Reins of Government. *Henry*, tho' he had no Intention to quit *France*, to return to *Poland*, wrote an Anſwer to thoſe Letters, and declared, that the Wars in which he was then engaged, prevented his ſpeedy Return, but that he would ſend to *Poland* ſuch Miniſters whoſe Abilities would ſupply his own Abſence, and he accordingly diſpatched *Guy* de *Pibrac* who had much Credit, and many Friends in that Kingdom, and was perfectly acquainted with the Genius of the Nation. 1575.

Poland was, at that Time, divided into Two Factions, which, tho' they oppoſed each other in their Choice of the Candidates, were unanimous, with Reſpect to the Depoſition of *Henry*, and the Election of a new King, in Conſequence of which, all the Eloquence and Sollicitations of *Pibrac*, were ineffectual, and nothing but meer Decorum induced them to liſten to his Remonſtrances.

The Emperor *Maximilian* demanded the Crown, either

either for himſelf, or for the Archbiſhop *Erneſtus*, his Son, who had been excluded by the laſt general Diet. The *Piaſtes*, on the contrary, that is to ſay, thoſe who were for the Election of a Prince of their own Nation, oppoſed the Meaſures of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and their Number being increaſed by the Conjunction of the *French* Faction, who, finding themſelves incapable of preventing the Depoſition of *Henry*, united with the *Piaſtes* againſt the Imperial Party.

The different Sentiments of the Electors produced a dangerous Schiſm: The Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and the Majority of the *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* Senators, elected the Emperor *Maximilian*; and *Zbozowſky*, Palatine of *Cracow*, together with Count *Gorka*, Palatine of *Sandomir*, Count *Tenczin*, and moſt of the Nobility who favoured the Faction of the *Piaſtes*, were induced, by their grateful Remembrance of the *Jagellon* Princes, to elect the Princeſs *Ann*, Siſter of *Sigiſmond Auguſtus*, and they determined, that ſhe ſhould be eſpouſed by *Stephen Battori*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, who accordingly was declared King.

The Partiſans of the Emperor, ſent an Embaſſy, at the ſame Time, to this Prince, with the Act of his Election, and to intreat him to come as ſoon as poſſible, to take Poſſeſſion of the Throne; but whilſt he engaged in long Conferences on the Oath which the *Poles* required from him, for the Preſervation of their Privileges; *Battori*, who was more expeditious, arrived in *Poland*, and the Princeſs *Ann*, who conceived a Paſſion for him, at the firſt Interview, gain'd a great Number of the Nobility, who had embraced the oppoſite Party, and the tardy *Maximilian* was almoſt forgotten. His Competitor eſpouſed the Princeſs, and was crowned at *Cracow*, by

Staniſlaus

Staniſlaus Karnkawſki, Biſhop of *Wladiſlaw*, in the Abſence of the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*.

In the mean Time, *Maximilian*, who had not abandoned his Claim, was endeavouring to procure Succours from all Quarters, againſt *Battori*, whom he treated as an Uſurper, but Death, which ſurpriſed him amidſt his Preparations for the intended Expedition, extinguiſhed all the Apprehenſions of a civil War, which would otherwiſe have been kindled in *Poland*. *Maximilian* died in the Forty ninth Year of his Age, and in the twelfth of his Reign; and all his Party then ſubmitted to *Battori*. 1576.

Dantzic had declared for the Emperor, and tho' all the States of the Kingdom had acknowledged his Competitor, this City alone refuſed to take the Oath of Allegiance to him, on various Pretexts; and the bold Inhabitants had even the Preſumption to demand an Oath from the King, for the Confirmation of their Privileges, and for an abſolute Liberty of Conſcience. *Battori* referred the Examination of their Complaints to the approaching Diet, and order'd them to Diſcharge the Duties that were incumbent on Subjects. He even came to *Mariemburg*, and diſpatched *Andrew Zborowſky*, Marſhal of the Court, to prevail upon them to plead their Cauſe before the Senate, but the *Dantzickers* were ſo far from complying with the wiſe Remonſtrances of that Nobleman, that they even placed Guards at their Gates, as if an Enemy were approaching; they likewiſe ſeized the Caſtle of *Grebin*, and publiſhed a Manifeſto, that was equally injurious to the Prince and the Republic.

The King was irritated at theſe Proceedings, and he marched againſt the Caſtle of *Grebin*, which he took, and then ravaged the Lands that belonged

longed to the Town Houſe of *Dantzic*. The Citizens likewiſe made Repriſals on the Lands of the Biſhop of *Wladiſlaw*, and the Monaſtery of *Oliva*, which they burnt, leſt that important Poſt ſhould be employed againſt them.

When they had imperiouſly rejected the Overtures of an Accommodation, they were declared Rebels, and Enemies to the State, and *John Kborowſki* marched againſt them; but as the Number of his Troops was inconſiderable, the *Dantzickers*, who had been aſſiſted with a Body of *German* Forces, marched out of the City on *Eaſter* Day, to make a ſudden Attack, but a dreadful Storm, accompanyed with Thunder and Lightening, obliged them to return back.

Some Days after this Event, they ſailed up the *Viſtula*, in their Veſſels under the Conduct of *John* de *Collen*, and advanced to *Warſaw* in order to attack the *Poles*, who defeated and put them to Flight, after a long Engagement. They loſt 8000 Men, and ſeveral Pieces of Cannon. *Collen*, after this Overthrow, enter'd the City, and was in ſome Danger of being ill treated by the incenſed Populace, but he appeaſed them, with a Promiſe of a ſpeedy Vengeance on their Enemies, and that he would defend their City to the laſt Gaſp.

The Czar, taking Advantage of theſe inteſtine Wars, cauſed *Revel* to be beſieged, but the Garriſon made ſo brave a Defence, that the *Ruſſians* were compelled to raiſe the Siege, after ſeveral ineffectual Attacks, for the Space of Six Weeks: but tho' their Loſſes before that Place were very conſiderable, yet they ravaged all *Livonia*, and took ſeveral ſmall Towns, which were ſacked with the utmoſt Inhumanity.

Battori, in the mean Time, preſſed *Dantzic* in a very vigorous Manner. The Beſieged, in the

firſt

firſt Sally they made after their Defeat, obtain'd a conſiderable Advantage over the Aſſailants, and compelled them to decamp at a greater Diſtance from the City, but the next Attack proved fatal to them; for tho' the Number of ſlain was equal on both Sides, yet the *Dantzickers*, having loſt the brave *Collen* in the Action, were ſoon compelled to have Recourſe to the Clemency of their Prince, and a Peace was, at laſt, concluded, by the Mediation of the Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony*, in Conjunction with the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; by the Stipulations of which, the *Dantzickers* were to diſband their Troops; implore the King's Pardon, and Repair the Damages ſuſtain'd by the Monaſtery of *Oliva*. The King, on his Part, confirmed all their Privileges, with a Promiſe to allow them full Liberty of adhering to the Confeſſion of *Auſburg*.

The *Muſcovite* was Maſter of the greateſt Part of *Livonia*. *Marienhaus*, *Roſſitten*, *Luſſen*, *Duneburg*, and *Kockenhaus* had open'd their Gates to him, and the Czar, who had an Inclination to delude theſe People, by an Air of Goodneſs and Clemency, would not permit his Troops to offer the leaſt Inſult to the Inhabitants of thoſe Places: But the City of *Aſcherod*, where a great Number of the Nobility then reſided, had not the ſame Fate. The *Muſcovites* ſlaughter'd all who were capable of bearing Arms, and abandoned the Women and Children, to the Brutality of the *Tartars*, whom they retained in their Pay. The Citizens of *Wenden*, were ſtruck with ſuch a Conſternation at theſe Barbarities, that they refuſed to open their Gates to the *Ruſſians* who beſieged them, and as this unhappy City was in no Condition of Defence, the Inhabitants choſe rather to periſh, than ſurrender themſelves to ſo inhuman a Foe. The Citizens themſelves ſunk Mines under

der their own Houſes, and bravely made them their Graves; The Czar render'd himſelf Maſter of the Ruins of *Wenden*, and took *Runneburgh* by Compoſition, ſo that all *Livonia*, except *Revel* and *Riga*, groan'd under the Yoke of this dreadful Conqueror.

Battori, to revenge theſe Invaſions, and maintain the Glory of the *Poliſh* Name, convoked a general Diet, which was held at *Warſaw*. The King propoſed a War againſt the *Muſcovites*, and it was unanimouſly agreed to. *Wenden* and *Duneburg* had already been ſurpriſed by the *Poles*, and the Army, which the Czar had ſent to retake *Wenden*, was defeated, ſome Time after, by *Peter Tatow*.

The King, after he had taken proper Meaſures for the Adminiſtration of the Government, in the interior Parts of the Kingdom, aſſembled Troops from all Quarters, and borrowed great Sums to pay them. *Chriſtopher*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, received Orders to join his Majeſty with the *Veteran* Troops of that Province, and ſome Squadrons of Horſe. *Roſdrazowſky* was commiſſion'd to make new Levies in *Germany*; the *Hungarians* and *Pruſſians* likewiſe increaſed the *Poliſh* Army, and the *Litbuanians* furniſhed a Body of 10000 Men.

Polocz, on the *Dzwina*, was inveſted. This was a ſtrong City which the *Muſcovites* had uſurped from *Litbuania*, and it open'd a Communication between that Duchy and *Livonia*. The King afterwards advanced with his whole Army to that Place, and beheld the moſt ſhocking Spectacle that could poſſibly be conceived. The River, that was red with human Blood, rolled, in its rapid Channel, a vaſt Number of dead Bodies, that were ſtill panting on the Planks to which they had been faſten'd. The *Muſcovites*, who

who were the Authors of this Barbarity, after they had doom'd to a rigid Captivity, the *Poles* who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their Hands, cauſed them to ſuffer Death amidſt the cruelleſt Tortures: They imagined this Proceeding would terrify the Forces, who came to beſiege them: But their Inhumanities had not the Effect they propoſed, and inſtead of intimidating the *Poles*, it inflamed them with a juſt Ardour for Revenge.

The Cannon of the Beſiegers made but little Impreſſion on the wooden Walls, that ſurrounded the Place, and the Soldiers found it neceſſary to mount to the Aſſault with flaming Torches in their Hands. But their firſt Efforts, even with theſe Arms, were ineffectual, and the Flames they had kindled, were quenched by the violent Rains that deſcended upon them: Till, at laſt, the *Hungarians*, animated by the Promiſes of the King, in Conjunction with the Hopes of a rich Booty, boldly advanced to the Walls, where, in Spite of all the Oppoſition of the Beſieged, they kindled a Blaze, that ſoon laid thoſe Fortifications in Aſhes; upon which the *Muſcovites* ſued for a Capitulation, and ſurrender'd themſelves to their victorious Foes.

A great Number of *Germans* were found dead in the Place, and who had ended their Lives by Tortures, which had never been heard of till then. A *Muſcovite* Nobleman had cauſed them to be dipped in a Cauldron of boiling Oil, after which, a Cord was drawn through the firſt Skin that enfolds the Belly; their Hands were likewiſe faſten'd behind them with that Cord, and in this miſerable Condition, their Eyes were torn out of their Sockets, and their Faces alſo were mangled by their barbarous Tormentors. Their diſfigured Carcaſes ſtill retain'd the Marks of the cruel

cruel Wounds, with which the *Muſcovites* had impreſſed them in different Intervals of Time. The Soldiers were wrought into Madneſs it ſelf, at the Appearance of a Scene ſo diſmal, and the King was obliged to interpoſe with all his Authority, to prevent their falling upon the Garriſon, and cutting them to Pieces.

The Army, after this ſucceſsful Expedition, was ſtation'd in Winter Quarters; but the Duke of *Oſtbrog* paſſed the *Boriſthenes*, notwithſtanding the Severity of the Seaſon, and purſued his Incurſions to the Gates of *Starodub*. *Philon Smita*, the Governor of *Orſha*, likewiſe headed Part of his Garriſon, and burnt 2000 Villages in the Parts adjacent to *Smolenſko*.

1571. *Battori* ſtood in need of Money and Troops, in order to open the next Campaign, and a Diet was held, upon this Occaſion at *Warſaw*, where *John Sarius Zamoſki*, who was render'd ſo famous by the *Swediſh* War, diſpoſed the Nation to grant new Subſidies to the King.

The Succeſs of the laſt Campaign, had excited the Ardour of the *Poles*, and raiſed their Hopes to greater Victories. The ſame *Zamoſki* was conſtituted General of the Troops, and he marched towards *Polocz*, to beſiege *Pleſkow*, a ſtrong City in the Northern Part of *Livonia*. But while the *Poles* were exerting their Vigour againſt the *Muſcovites*, the King of *Sweden*, who was their Ally, and had even engaged them in the War, enter'd *Livonia*, in a hoſtile Manner; and *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French* Gentleman, on whom he had beſtowed his natural Daughter in Marriage, attacked the Caſtle of *Oſel*, and the other maritim Places of that Province. The King ſent *John Herbert* of *Sanok*, to prevail upon the Enemy to retire, but all his Remonſtrances were ineffectu-

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al, and he was obliged to have Recourſe to Diſſimulation, in the Conjunctures wherein he beheld himſelf engaged.

The Caſtle of *Oſtrow*, which is ſeated in an Iſle, formed by the River *Vielka*, cover'd *Pleſkow*, and prevented all Acceſs to that Place. This Circumſtance occaſion'd the Siege of that Fortreſs, and the Garriſon ſurrendred upon Conditions, at the very Inſtant when the *Poles* were mounting to the Aſſault. The Approaches were then carried on to *Pleſkow*, and the King came in Perſon to the Siege.

This Town is ſituated in a fertile Country, bounded by Hills that riſe with a gentle Aſcent. Two Rivers water it with their Streams; and above Forty Monaſteries, that are built in different Parts of that Tract, ſurround it on all Sides, with a kind of Wall, which forms a magnificent Proſpect. It is divided into Three Cantons, each of which is encloſed with Walls, and a ſtrong Citadel riſes in the Centre. *John Swiſki*, the Nephew of *Peter Swiſki*, who was defeated, in the Plains of *Czaſnitz*, by *Nicholas Radziwil*, in the Reign of *Sigiſmond Auguſtus*, commanded in that Place, and he had Seven Thouſand Horſe, beſide a Troop of *Coſſacks*, commanded by *Nicholas Circaſſia*.

Some of the *Poles* were apprehenſive, that the Siege of the Place ſo well fortified, and which was defended by ſo numerous a Garriſon, would be impracticable to the *Poliſh* Army, and they endeavoured to prevail upon the King to deſiſt from that Enterprize, in order to beſiege *Novogrod*; but the undaunted *Battori* diſregarded thoſe puſilanimous Counſels, and all the Difficulties that had been ſet before him, only render'd him more confident of acquiring greater Glory, by the Event.

The Gariſon, or rather the Army, which defended the Place, made ſeveral Sallies at the Beginning of the Siege, and fought regular Battles, at the Foot of the Walls, but the Advantage was always in Favour of the *Poles*, and the Beſieged were, at laſt, compelled to ſhut themſelves up in their City. The *Hungarians* confined their Aſſaults to the Tower of *Porchow*, and the *Poles* to that of *Swinie*, and they mounted to the Aſſault, the Moment a Breach was open'd, to prevent the Enemy from repairing it, or throwing up a ſecond Intrenchment. The *Germans* marched in the firſt Line, but, their Commander having the Misfortune to be kill'd, they were immediately diſpirited from the Attack. The *Poles*, who were already exaſperated at their being refuſed the firſt Place, made it evident that they merited the Priority. They advanced through the midſt of the *German* Troops; paſſed the Ditch, and attacked the Port with ſo much Bravery, that they planted their Standards on the Breach. The *Hungarians* imitated their Valour, and made a Lodgment with them on the Tower. The Enemy, who beheld the *Poliſh* Enſigns on their Walls, had already betaken themſelves to Flight, when *Swiſky* mounted a Horſe, cover'd with Wounds and Blood, and re-animated them ſo effectually, by his Prayers and Menaces, that they rallied for a ſecond Engagement. The Biſhop himſelf came to the Attack, where he preſented the Relics of Saints to their View, and inſpired them, by his moving Diſcourſe, with all the Courage that Religion was capable of imparting. They returned to the Attack, and checked the Progreſs of the Aſſailants, on the Bank of a Ditch that was ſunk within the Place. After which they immediately attacked them, and recover'd from them the Ground they had already gained

gained. The *Poles*, who had advanced beyond the other Troops, were the firſt who retired: All the Enemies Fire was then diſcharged upon the the *Hungarians*, who, nevertheleſs, ſuſtain'd the Aſſault till Night, and brought off their Companions who were either dead or wounded.

It appeared, by ſeveral intercepted Letters, that all the neigbouring Cities were preparing to ſuccour *Pleſkow*, but *Zamoſki*, in order to prevent their Entrance into the City, formed an Ambuſcade, on the Banks of the River *Welika*, and barricaded up the Paſſage above the City, with a kind of Dike, formed by a Conjunction of Boats. The *Ruſſians*, taking the Advantage of a very dark Night, advanced, in Silence, with with an Intention to enter the Place, but they fell into the Ambuſcade, and were preſſed on all Sides by the *Germans* above them, and were eaſily defeated. Two Hundred Boiars, or Noblemen of *Muſcovy*, remained Priſoners of War, and were carried off to the Camp. Two other Parties of *Muſcovites* had likewiſe the ſame Fate.

While the *Poles* were carrying on thoſe great Operations againſt *Pleſkow*, *John*, King of *Sweden*, extended his Conqueſts in *Livonia*. His Troops chaſed the *Ruſſians* out of *Wenſenberg*, *Totſburg*, *Wikke*, and ſeveral other Places, and when they had obtained theſe firſt Advantages, *Pontus de la Gardia*, beſieged *Narva* on the *Welika*. The Czar *John* had built a City, called *Ywanogrod*, on the other Bank of the River, and the Two Places were joined by a Bridge. The Garriſon had been detached from thence, to defend *Pleſkow*; the *Sweeds*, therefore, eaſily made themſelves Maſters of it. The Caſtles of *Jammaturot* and *Corporio*, likewiſe ſurrender'd without daring to make the leaſt Oppoſition.

The *Poles*, at the ſame Time, re-conquer'd ſe-

veral Places, that had been uſurped from them by the *Muſcovites*, and re-enter'd *Kiremps*, *Falkenaw*, *Pirckel*, *Salis*, *Lewenart*, and *Aſterod*; while *Philon Kmit*, *Nicholas Radzivil*, and *Harabarda*, who commanded a Hord of *Tartars* in the *Poliſh* Service, penetrated into the Enemies Country; defeated the *Ruſſians* near *Saleſa*, and ravaged all thoſe Countries, almoſt in the very Sight of the Czar *John*, who had advanced as far as *Sturicia*, to wait the Event of the Siege of *Pleſkow*, and who might eaſily have been carried off by the *Poles*, if *Radzivil* had been reſolute enough to have undertaken that Enterprize.

The Siege of *Pleſkow*, was carried on but faintly, during the Severity of the Winter Seaſon, and if the *Poles* had not been headed by a General as able and intrepid as *Zamoſki*, they would have made an inglorious Retreat from that Place. *Pleſkow* is ſituated in one of the coldeſt Regions in *Muſcovy*; where the Sun ſeldom appears in the Winter, and the Days are but Five Hours in Length. The Winter of this Year was more rigorous than had been known for a long Time, which render'd it impoſſible for the Guard to be ſtation'd as uſual. Thoſe who were obliged to quit their Tents, on any Occaſion, had their Faces and Hands frozen over with Cold, and the recovery of their natural Warmth, threw them into a burning Feaver, which ſoon proved fatal to them. *Zamoſki*, expoſed himſelf to the Severity of the Air, and tho' he was cover'd over with a Shower of frozen Snow, he yet animated his Troops by his Example and Diſcourſe. He procured them all poſſible Accommodations, furniſhed them with proper Habits, rewarded them for their Toils, and frequently viſited thoſe poor Men, with an Air of ſo much Goodneſs and Affability, as never fails to make the ſtrong-

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eſt Impreſſions on the Heart of a Soldier.

Swiſky, being but little ſatisfied with the Glory of a long Defence, was deſirous of obtaining a Victory over the Beſiegers, and he ſallied from the City, to attack them in their Camp, notwithſtanding the Rigours of the Seaſon, which ſeem'd to have benumed all Nature. He had ſcarce Seven Hundred Horſe remaining, out of the Seven Thouſand which he commanded at the beginning of the Siege, he however cauſed them to be aſſembled, and placed himſelf at their Head: The Infantry followed him in different Bodies.

The advanced Guard had Orders to abandon their Poſts, in caſe of an Attack, and return to the Camp. *Swiſky*, when he ſaw them retreat, imagined that all the *Poliſh* Forces were retiring, and galloped with full ſpeed towards the Camp; but he advanced into the firſt Ranks of the Pickets, before *John Kretkows*, and *Staniſlaus Erimſki*, whoſe Troops had already taken Arms, came out of their Tents, cover'd with Snow, as if they had ſtarted out of a deep Ambuſcade, and fell upon the Enemies Cavalry; 300 Men were killed, Sixty were made Priſoners, and the reſt were forced into the Town.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Anthony Poſſevin*, a Jeſuit, was endeavouring to effect an Accommodation between the Two Parties. The Czar, finding himſelf preſſed by the *Poles*, ſent an Embaſſy to the Pope, with Inſtructions to propoſe to him a War againſt the *Turks*. Not that he had any Intention to engage in ſuch an Enterprize, and he perhaps was in no Condition to undertake a Part in it, but he hoped that the Pontiff, would be ſo allured by the Offer of powerful Succours againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, that he would eſpouſe the *Muſcovite* Intereſt, againſt the King of *Poland*. *Gregory* XIII. gave

the

the Ambaſſadors a favourable Reception, and ſent them back into their own Country, with the Jeſuite above mention'd, who was perfectly acquainted with all the North, and he was commiſſion'd to promote, if poſſible, a Pacification between the Two contending Powers.

Poſſevin ſucceeded in his Negotiation, and had the Ability to conciliate the Minds of the Two Nations to each other. A Peace was concluded at *Zapolia*, and the *Ruſſians* yielded up *Livonia*, which occaſioned the War. The *Poles* retired from *Pleſkow*, and delivered up all the Places they had taken, except *Wieliſz*, and the Territory of *Polocz*.

Such was the Period of this War, in which the Czar *John*, had not the Succeſs that was apprehended from his Menaces and Power, and which coſt him the Lives of Four Hundred Thouſand of his Subjects. The Provinces on the Frontiers of *Poland*, were entirely depopulated, and became a vaſt Deſart. He loſt the Communication of the *Baltic* Sea, and was ſhut up, for the future, in the Foreſts of *Ruſſia*, whoſe only Outlet was the frozen Sea, and he was cut off from all Intercourſe with other Nations.

Battori, after the Accompliſhment of ſuch an advantageous Peace for *Poland*, applied himſelf to the Reformation of thoſe Abuſes, which had crept into the Adminiſtration during the Tumults of War, and he made ſeveral civil and military Laws. The *Polish* Cavalry received from that Prince, thoſe Regulations which are obſerved to this Time. He appointed Funds for the Payment of ſeveral Regiments, that were raiſed for the Defence of the Frontiers towards *Tartary*; he likewiſe diſciplined the *Coſſacks*, and eſtabliſhed a certain Order among that Militia.

This Nation derives its Original from a Body of Robbers, who quitted all the neighbouring States,

States, and canton'd themſelves in the Iſles formed in the Outlet of the *Boriſthenes*. War and Plunder are their only Subſiſtence, and they have ſometimes had the Preſumption, to extend their Excurſions beyond the black Sea, and to the very Gates of *Conſtantinople*.

They cloath themſelves, in Winter, with the Skins of Sheep, on which they ſuffer the Wool to remain. They are harden'd to all kinds of Fatigue, diſregard Hunger and Thriſt, and all the Severities of the Air. They never intrench themſelves in their Camp; their Waggons are their only Fortification, and they defend themſelves therein, with the utmoſt Obſtinacy.

Battory had the Art to gain upon theſe *Barbarians*, and, in order to attach them to *Poland*, he preſented them with the City and Territories of *Tochtimirow*, on the Banks of the *Boriſthenes*, where they ſerved as a Barrier, againſt the Invaſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whoſe Progreſs they have frequently checked, when they attempted an Irruption into the Kingdom. The *Poles* were deſirous of ſubjecting them, but this fierce Nation has already found Means to preſerve its Liberty againſt the Efforts of this powerful Kingdom, whoſe Intereſt it is to treat them with Moderation.

The *Swedes* had ſupported themſelves in their Uſurpation of thoſe Places, which *Pontus de la Gardia*, had taken in *Livonia*, and *Battori*, amidſt the Conjunctures in which *Poland* was then involved, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſuſpend the Operations of War, by a Truce for ſome Years; but the *Swedes* were on the point of making themſelves Maſters of *Riga*, in violation of their Treaties; and the Inhabitants of that City, who were diſcontented becauſe the King had not granted

granted them an entire Liberty of Conſcience, in conformity to his Promiſe, but, on the contrary, had ſent a Body of Jeſuits among them, revolted the preceding Year, and *Gottard Wellinge*, their Syndic, had determined to introduce a Party of *Swediſh* Troops into this Place. The King, when he was informed of this Conſpiracy, order'd the Nobility to take Arms; he likewiſe erected a Caſtle on the Bank of the *Dwina*, to prevent the Enemy from making a Deſcent, and raiſed a Body of Troops to chaſtiſe the Rebels: but they endeavoured to prevent the Effects of his Vengeance, by engaging the Duke of *Courland*, to employ his Mediation in their Favour; notwithſtanding which, *Battori*, who was irritated at their former Proceedings, commanded the Citizens to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and the Sight of the Two Envoys threw him into ſuch a Rage, as affected him, a few Days after, with a dreadful Epileptic Fit, of which he died, at the Age of Fifty Three, and after he had reigned Ten Years and ſome Months. He ſubjected the *Dantzickers*, who were too much attached to *Maximilian*; he undertook, and ſuſtain'd a War againſt *Muſcovy*, with equal Succeſs and Glory, and he reunited *Livonia*, and the Palatinate of *Polocz*, to the Kingdom of *Poland*. But this Prince, who had ſuch Abilities for the wiſe Regulation of a State, was incapable of commanding his own Paſſions, and could not ſuppreſs that violent Emotion, which occaſioned his Death. He, however, was a Prince truly great, both in Peace and War, and was lamented by his People as their Defender and Father. The Republick teſtified its Regret for his Death, by the magnificent Funeral they prepared for him, and *John Sarius Zamoſki*, who had ſerved him with ſuch a ſeries of Succeſs, pronounced his Funeral Oration.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND*, &c.

BOOK V.

UPON the Death of King *Stephen Battori*, *Staniſlaus Karskowski*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and Primate of the Kingdom, publiſh'd his *Univerſalia* for calling the Diet of Election, which is uſually held at *Warſaw*. Upon the opening of the Aſſembly it was decreed, that the King ſhould be choſen by the general Conſent of all the Deputies, whether *Poliſh* or *Lithuanian*; that whoever ſhould adhere to a particular Faction, or ſell their Voices, ſhould be look'd upon as Enemies to the State; that the Confederation made upon the Election of *Henry de Valois* concerning Religion, ſhould be obſerv'd; and laſtly, that the new King ſhould promiſe to recal the Decree of Attainder iſſued out by his late Majeſty againſt *Chriſtopher Zborowſki*. At the ſame time 1587. *The General Diet for the Election.*

time *John Sarius Zamoſki* was deprived of his Office of General, and that Employment conferred upon *Nicholas Herbert*, who then commanded in *Volhinia*.

The Family of *Zborowſki* took an Advantage from the Abſence of *Zamoſki*, to obtain theſe preliminary Articles: They bore a mortal Hatred to that Lord, who, in the preceding Reign, had procured the Condemnation of *Chriſtopher*, their Relation. Theſe two powerful Parties ſoon divided the whole Nation, and each of them came to the Diet at the Head of an Army.

The *Lithuanians* alſo raiſed ſeveral Diſputes. They demanded that *Livonia*, *Volhinia* and *Podolia*, which had been diſmembred from their Duchy, ſhould be reunited to it, and complain'd, that the *Poles* had broke in upon their Rights; that they had choſen the two laſt Kings againſt their Inclination; that they had ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, without their being concerned in it; and that, in the preſent Election, it ſeemed as if they had ſtill a Mind to overawe their Voices, by coming to the Aſſembly with an armed Force.

The *Pruſſians*, on their part, repreſented, That they were oppreſs'd with Taxes; that the Places of Profit and Power, in their ſeveral Cities, were conferred upon Strangers, and that the Veſſels of *Dantzick* were detained by the King of *Denmark*, for Debts contracted by the late King. But the Diet remitted the Examination of all theſe Complaints to a more favourable Opportunity, and gave Audience to the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes.

The different Candidates.

The Pope's Legate was firſt heard. Tho' his Diſcourſe tended only to exhort the *Poles* to Peace, and the Election of a Catholic Prince, yet it was plain enough to be ſeen, that he inclin'd to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and would have perſuaded the

the Aſſembly, that it was neceſſary for them to make Choice of one of the Emperor's Brothers. The Archdukes *Erneſt*, *Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, aſpired to the Crown. They had gained over Count *Gorka* to their Party, and the powerful Family of the *Zborowſki's*, who being ill uſed by King *Stephen*, had taken Refuge at the Court of *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. Their Competitor was Prince *Sigiſmond* of *Sweden*, the Son of *John* III. King of *Sweden*, and *Catharine* the Siſter of *Sigiſmond Auguſtus*. And thus his Birth made him agreeable to the *Poles*, and gave him a kind of Pretenſion to the Throne, as he was deſcended from the Family of *Jagellon*.

The Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria.

The Prince of Sweden.

Theodore, Grand Duke of *Muſcovy*, was likewiſe a Candidate, and offer'd, in caſe he ſhould be choſen, to incorporate that vaſt Empire to *Poland*, which lies between *Livonia* and the Shores of the *Caſpian* Sea. The *Lithuanians*, who are conſtantly expoſed to Invaſions from *Ruſſia*, ſupported the Demands of the Czar, notwithſtanding the Suſpicions to which the Propoſals of their antient Enemy might be liable.

The Czar of Muſcovy.

The *Piaſtes* oppos'd themſelves to all the Cabals of Foreigners, and required that one of their own Nation might be plac'd upon the Throne. In fine, the Sultan declared for the Nephews of King *Stephen*, and ſignified by the Grand Vizir to the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors at the Port, that it was his Deſire the Electors ſhould have a Regard to the Merit of thoſe Princes.

The Faction of the Piaſtes.

As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors were heard, the private Animoſities which divided the Lords, broke out into a Flame, and occaſion'd an open Rupture. The Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and *Staniſlaus Kriſki* Palatin of *Cracow*, quitted the *Colo*, and held a ſeparate Aſſembly in the Neighbourhood. They were followed by Count *Tenezin*,

Diviſion of the Lords.

the Duke of *Oſtrog*, *Andrew Opalinſki* Marſhal of the Kingdom, and the Chancellor *Zamoſki*. The *Lithuanians* alſo retired, and ſhut themſelves up in their Camp for above forty Days.

The Followers of the Primate and the Chancellor were inclin'd either to a Piaſte, or the Prince of *Sweden*; but after ſome Conferences amongſt themſelves, *Zamoſki* brought them all over to favour *Sigiſmond*. They declar'd their Reſolution to Count *Gorka* and the other Lords of his Faction, and deſir'd their Sentiments; but they returned Anſwer, that they could not give their Advice, unleſs the whole Nation was aſſembled in the ſame Diet, and made up but one Senate.

Upon this Anſwer, the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, to prevent a more dangerous Diviſion, returned to the *Colo*; but Count *Gorka* and the *Zborowſki's* forgot the Reſpect which was due to his Character, and publickly inſulted him, inſomuch that the Prelate, not thinking himſelf ſecure, retir'd again with *Zamoſki*. He was followed by all the Biſhops of the Kingdom, except the Biſhop of *Kiow*, and ſoon after they elected *Sigiſmond* Prince of *Sweden*, the Son of *John* the Third.

Election of the Prince of Sweden.

When the oppoſite Party were inform'd of their Proceedings, they reſolv'd likewiſe to chooſe a King for themſelves, and nominated *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of the *Lithuanians*, who did all they could to prevent this double Election. On the one hand, the *Zborowſki's* ſent the Biſhop of *Kiow* and the Duke of *Prunſki* to *Maximilian*, to engage him to come over as ſoon as might be, into *Poland*, and to offer him the Coronation-Oath for the Preſervation of the Privileges of the Kingdom. And on the other hand, *Zamoſki* demanded of the Prince of *Sweden*, that he ſhould unite *Livonia* to *Poland*, and maintain a Fleet at his own Expence,

Refuſal of Maximilian of Auſtria.

Expence, for the Defence of his new Subjects: That he ſhould provide a Supply of Arms and Ammunition for the Sieges of *Novogrod*, *Pleſkow*, and *Smolenſko*, in caſe the Czar ſhould make any Motion: That he ſhould remit the Sums which had been formerly borrowed of King *John*, by *Sigiſmond Auguſtus*: That he ſhould quit all other Claims of *Sweden* upon *Poland*; and laſtly, that he ſhould take a general Oath to obſerve whatever had been promis'd by *Henry de Valois*.

Martin Liſnowolſki was then nominated to wait upon the new King in *Sweden*, and the Biſhop of *Wladiſlaw*, with ſome other Lords, had Orders to receive him in the Road of *Dantzick*, and offer him the Oaths upon the *Pacta Conventa*, before he ſhould ſet foot in the Kingdom. But King *John* was leſs pleaſed with the News of his Son's Election, than diſturb'd at the Proſpect of the Dangers, to which he was about to be expoſed, by taking Poſſeſſion of a Throne, which was diſputed with him by the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Beſides, the Reunion of *Livonia* to *Poland* appear'd to him too hard a Condition, and of greater Value than the Purchaſe of an elective Kingdom. *Sigiſmond* was in the ſame way of thinking, and did not care to loſe the ſmalleſt Jewel of an hereditary Crown, for the Acquiſition of one which he could not tranſmit to his Poſterity.

Whilſt the Father and Son were thus undetermin'd about accepting the Offers of *Liſnowolſki*, from *Erick Sparre* arriv'd in *Sweden*, with Letters *Zamolſki*, importing that he was Maſter of *Cracow* and the *Regalia*, and that if *Sigiſmond* would but come and ſhew himſelf to his People, it was all that was wanting to reduce them to their Obedience. The earneſt Deſires of the *Poles*, and the Glory of his Son, at laſt prevail'd upon King *John*, and he ſtraight ſent him

Sigiſmond comes into Poland.

on board, under a Convoy of three and twenty Veſſels. *Sigiſmond* ſafely arrived at *Dantzick*, and there took the Oaths that were required, excepting only as to the Article which concerned *Livonia*.

In the mean time *Zamoſki*, having entred *Cracow*, cauſed the Legality of the Prince of *Sweden*'s Election to be publiſhed in all Parts. He ſignified to the Pope, the Emperor, and the Electors of the Empire, that *Sigiſmond* had been choſen by the Majority of the Lords, and that his Competitor had only the Voices of a ſmall Number of Outlaws, who hop'd to repair the Loſs of their Fortunes, by the Civil Wars they endeavour'd to raiſe within the Bowels of the Kingdom. On the other hand, *Maximilian*, being preſs'd thereto by the Family of *Zborowſki's*, was already arriv'd upon the Frontiers of *Poland*, and had taken the Oaths, which the *Poles* of his Party had tender'd to him. He then advanc'd towards *Cracow*, intrench'd himſelf within five Miles of the Town, and there received the Troops which the *Zborowſki's* brought in to him. With this Supply he drew near the Walls, and made the Inhabitants apprehenſive of a Siege; but the active *Zamoſki* was beforehand with him, and beat the *Germans*, before they could draw their Swords in the Kingdom. Two thouſand of 'em were left upon the Field of Battle, and the reſt eſcaped with the Archduke into *Sileſia*.

Maximilian *advances towards* Cracow.

He is ſoon defeated by Zamoski.

This Defeat left the Way open to *Sigiſmond*, who, within a few Days after, made his Entry into *Cracow*, where he was crown'd. The brave *Zamoſki* then put himſelf at the Head of the *Poliſh* Troops, and purſued *Maximilian*, who had retreated to *Wielun*, a Place of the Greater *Poland*, upon the Confines of *Sileſia*. Upon his Approach, that Prince, who had with him no more than

five

five hundred Horſe and a ſmall Number of Foot, quitted *Wielun*, and took Shelter in *Witſen*, a Town ſituate beyond the Limits which divide *Sileſia* from *Poland*. Thither *Staniſlaus Prepoſwar* brought up to him a Body of *Hungarian* Troops, and *Stadniki*, who commanded the *Poles* of the Imperial Party, ſoon prevail'd on him to enter upon an Engagement. *Zamoſki*'s *Coſſacks* were at firſt repuls'd by the *Germans*; but the *Poles*, who came up, renewed the Fight, and attack'd the Imperialiſts with ſo much Bravery, that they broke their Ranks, and put them to Flight. Three thouſand of 'em were left upon the Field of Battle. *Maximilian* returned to *Witſen*, whither *Zamoſki* followed, and beſieg'd him. The Place was weak, its Defenders few, and in a terrible Conſternation at the late Defeat, and *Zamoſki* threaten'd to ſet Fire to the Town. In this Extremity, the Archduke ſurrender'd himſelf Priſoner of War, with the principal Lords of his Party. The Conqueror treated him with the Reſpect which was due to his Quality as a Prince; and being as good a Patriot, as he was an able General, he ſhew'd ſo much Moderation to his Countrymen upon this Victory, that tho' they were his Enemies, they could not but admire his Magnanimity and Diſcretion.

He is beaten a ſecond time, and taken Priſoner.

Sigiſmond expreſs'd the ſame Sentiments, and diſſembled the Joy he could not but have for an Event which ſecur'd the Crown upon his Head, which 'till then had been almoſt in a tottering Condition. Queen *Anne* his Aunt, the Dowager of the late King, making him a Viſit upon this Occaſion, to congratulate him on his happy Succeſs, he laid hold of the Opportunity of the Princeſs's Arrival, for making thoſe ſolemn Rejoicings which were then expreſs'd at *Cracow*.

A Treaty between the two Competitors.

The Court of *Vienna* was in a far different Situation, and a Face of Sadneſs cover'd the whole Empire. *Rodolphus* was perſonally offended with the Affront his Brother *Maximilian* had received, and the *German* Princes thought that the Diſgrace of the Archduke's Defeat reflected upon the whole *Germanic* Body. The Emperor, who was either too puſillanimous or too weak to attempt a War againſt *Poland*, whilſt the *Turk* threaten'd him with an Irruption into *Hungary*, preſum'd not openly to engage in it, and had Recourſe to the Mediation of the Pope, for bringing Matters to an Accommodation. *Sixtus* V. ſent Cardinal *Aldobrandini* into *Poland*, a Prelate of diſtinguiſh'd Merit, and equal to the Embaſſy he undertook. He was commiſſion'd to demand *Maximilian*'s Liberty, and the better to preſerve his Reputation, to procure him, if poſſible, the Continuance of the Regal Title.

Sigiſmond, when he came to treat, ſhew'd the ſame Moderation as he had done after his Victory, and offer'd to releaſe the Prince without Ranſom; but *John Zborowſki* hindred *Maximilian* from making the Ceſſion that was requir'd of him, and conſenting to a Treaty. He gave him Hopes, that he ſhould ſoon be able, with new Forces, to reſcue him out of Priſon, and ſupport his Election.

1589. However, after he had continued Priſoner a whole Twelve-month, the Archduke, quite ſpent with Vexation, and plainly diſcerning that the *Zborowſki's* flatter'd him with vain Hopes, deſir'd a Conference, in which it was agreed, that he ſhould quit *Poland* without paying for his Ranſom, or bearing the Title of King; that he ſhould reſtore to Count *Cepus* the Caſtle of *Libloa*, which he had taken from him; that the former Trea-

ties

ties made between *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhould be in full Force; and laſtly, that *Maximilian* ſhould ſwear to the Obſervation of this laſt Treaty, as ſoon as he ſhould enter upon the Territories of the Empire.

Theſe Conditions were approv'd by the Senate and King, and the Emperor confirmed them at *Prague*. The Archduke, who was conducted into *Sileſia* by a Guard of *Poliſh* Troops, and ſet at Liberty, refus'd to comply with the Oath he had agreed to take, and hardly refrained from falling upon the Guard which had attended on him: But his Brother *Rodolphus*, who was a more religious Obſerver of his Word, and car'd not to engage himſelf in a new War, oblig'd him to make the Renunciation he had promis'd, and ratify the Treaty.

Peace being ſettled in *Poland*, the Diet of *Warſaw* made new Proviſions for preventing Troubles in future Elections. They order'd that *Livonia* ſhould be ſucceſſively govern'd by a Palatin of *Lithuania*, and a Palatin of *Poland*; they put an end to the other Affairs of that Province, and gave Anſwers to the different Complaints of the Palatinates. They farther conſider'd of proper Meaſures to reſtrain the unbounded Licence of the *Coſſacks*, whoſe Inroads and Ravages in *Tartary*, and the Territories of the *Ottoman* Empire, might poſſibly engage *Poland* in a War.

War againſt the Tartars.

In ſhort, theſe Spoilers having made a ſudden Irruption into *Tartary*, ſurpriz'd certain Veſſels upon the Coaſts of the *Black Sea*, and plunder'd *Coſlovia*; the *Tartars*, at the Inſtigation of the *Turks*, had paſs'd the *Boryſthenes* with 70000 Horſe, and were encamp'd between the Lake of *Amadoka* and *Leopold* in *Ruſſia*, from whence they ravag'd all the neighbouring Country.

John

John Sarius Zamoſki was ſent againſt them, and fortified *Kamieniec*, under an Apprehenſion left the *Turks*, who were already in *Walachia*, where they waited for the Event of this Irruption of the *Tartars*, ſhould fall upon that Place, which is the only Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* on that Side. The *Coſſacks*, encourag'd by the Preſence of *Zamoſki*, march'd in queſt of the Enemy. And tho' they had come off with Loſs in the two former Actions, Shame and a Deſire of Revenge inſpiring them with freſh Force and Courage, they at laſt obtain'd a compleat Victory. The *Cham* march'd to the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects at the Head of a freſh Army, and found Means to draw the *Coſſacks* into an Ambuſcade, whither their blind Confidence had driven them. Surrounded on all Sides, and glad of any Opportunity to ſave their Lives, they offered to ſurrender; but the *Tartar* would hearken to no Conditions, and ſhewed by his Example, how dangerous it is to reduce a courageous Enemy to Deſpair. The *Coſſacks*, exhorting one another to ſtand out to the laſt Breath, and reſolving to ſell their Lives at a dear Rate, fell ſo furiouſly upon the *Tartars*, that they made their Way through the Batallions, which encompaſſed them; and being thus diſengaged from the falſe Step they had taken, they contended a ſecond time for the Victory. The *Cham* ſtrove to oppoſe them, but in vain; he ſaw his Son killed by his Side, and himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. His Troops diſperſed and abandoned him; and were it not for ſome faithful Subjects, who ſacrificed themſelves to ſave their Prince, he muſt have been either ſlain or taken Priſoner. The ſcattered Remains of his Army eſcaped into the neighbouring Woods; but being ſoon conſtrained to quit them through Famine, the poor Wretches were all knocked on the

the Head like ſo many Brute Beaſts. After this Victory, there was no putting a Stop to the Rage of the Conquerors, who, notwithſtanding all that *Zamoſki* could do to prevent it, made an Irruption into *Tartary*, and put all to Fire and Sword.

The *Poliſh* General then ſent to the Baſha, who commanded the *Turkiſh* Army upon the Banks of the *Nieſtar*, to demand whether he intended to obſerve the former Treaties; and the Infidels, who ſaw from their Camp the Fires which the *Coſſacks* had kindled in *Tartary*, and intimidated by the Defeat of their Allies, did not preſume to proceed any farther, but retired.

The next Year, the *Coſſacks* again ſurprized 1590.
and plundered certain Merchant Ships belonging to the *Turks*, who, relying upon the Treaty then ſubſiſting, were taking in freſh Proviſions upon the Coaſt of the *Black Sea*. They then entered the *Pontic Cherſoneſus*, and committed more cruel Ravages than they had done before; inſomuch that *Amurath*, in the Heat of his Indignation, and imputing the Proceedings of the *Coſſacks* to the *Poles*, engaged the *Cham* to make an Irruption into their Kingdom, and ordered his Baſhas to raiſe an Army to follow him thither. The *Tartars*, greedy of Prey, were immediately upon their March, entered *Poland*, and having enriched themſelves with great Spoils, retired into their own Country, where the *Coſſacks*, who had been the Occaſion of the War, fell upon them and beat them. *Zamoſki*, who was advanced as far as the Frontiers, to oppoſe the *Turkiſh* Army, which lay incamped upon the Frontiers of *Walachia*, ſent to demand of the Baſha who commanded it, whether he was come up as a Friend, or an Enemy; and the *Turk* made Anſwer, that he would offer no Hoſtility, in caſe

the

the *Cossacks* were punished for their Insolence; and soon after the *English* Embassador had Credit enough at the *Port* to cause all these Insults to be overlooked, and prevented a Rupture of the Treaties.

Their Treaty of Peace.

John III. King of *Sweden* now dying, his Son the King of *Poland* was crowned at *Upsal*. *Sigismond*, who was a *Roman* Catholic, was desirous that the Ceremony might be performed by *Francis de Malespine* Bishop of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nuncio; but *Adam Andracan*, the Primate of the Kingdom, and a zealous Protestant, warmly opposed it. The Senate and all the Orders of the Kingdom joined with him, and would not allow a foreign Prelate to crown their King. As they were apprehensive that he had some Design of making Alterations in the Religion of the Country, and restoring the Faith of their Ancestors, they obliged him to take an Oath of Conformity to the Ordinances of his Grandfather *Charles* V. and the Decrees of the last Synod of *Upsal*, in favour of the *Ausbourg* Confession; insomuch that his Majesty was obliged to have Recourse to the Sollicitations of the *Polish* Lords who attended him, before he could obtain Leave to have Mass said in his own Palace.

1594. Sigismond *crown'd King of* Sweden.

Sigismond then advised with the States-General, assembled at *Stockholm*, about settling the Administration during his Absence, and his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Suderland* was declared Regent of the Kingdom. But he soon abused the Authority he was entrusted with, and the ambitious Prince made no Scruple of becoming an Usurper. He presently took several Steps, under the Pretence of defending the Confession of *Ausbourg* against the Attempts of the *Roman* Catholicks, which had a ma-

1597. Charles *of* Suderland, *Regent of* Sweden, *abuses his Authority.*

a manifeſt Tendency to the Throne, and ſeem'd to threaten an immediate Revolt. *Sigiſmond* complain'd of it, diſpatch'd his Ambaſſadors into *Sweden*, and depriv'd *Charles* of the Title of Regent, which he had conferr'd upon him. But the Duke found Means to procure an Eſtabliſhment of the Character and Authority, which the King had taken from him, by the States of the Kingdom. He then, notwithſtanding *Sigiſmond*'s Orders, call'd them together at *Arboge*, where they confirm'd to him the Title of Regent of the Kingdom, gave him Commiſſion to do whatever he judged neceſſary for its Defence, and declar'd all thoſe Traitors, who within ſix Months ſhould not ſubſcribe to theſe Declarations.

He ſeizes on Stockholm, *and baniſhes the Lords, that are true to* Sigiſmond.

The Duke of *Suderland*, inveſted with this unlawful Authority, made himſelf Maſter of *Stockholm* and the Fort of *Elſenbourg*. And Rebel as he was, and uſurping an Authority which his Maſter had taken from him, he endeavour'd notwithſtanding to impoſe upon the People, by aſſuring them that all his Proceedings were avow'd by the King, and that he acted only for the Maintenance of Religion; tho', in Reality, under the Title of Regent he already exerciſed regal Power. He turn'd out the Magiſtrates and Officers put in by *Sigiſmond*, to make room for Creatures of his own. He remov'd the greateſt Part of the Senators, attainted ſome of them, and ſeiz'd upon the Eſtates of all who ventured to complain. He obliged the Chancellor *Eric Sparre* to remove out of *Scandinavia*, and put ſuch Governors and Gariſons into all the Forts, as were intirely at his Devotion. *Finland* and the Fort of *Arbon* refuſing to acknowledge his Authority, he entred the Country, Sword in Hand, ravaged it in an hoſtile Manner, and threw the Great Men into Priſon.

Sigiſmond

1598. Sigiſmond goes into Sweden.

Sigiſmond, upon Information of all theſe Treaſons, prepared to paſs into *Sweden*, after having advis'd with the Diet at *Warſaw*, which fixed his Return to the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* in the Year next enſuing. He embark'd in the Road of *Dantzick* with 5000 Men, and deſign'd to make a Deſcent at *Calmar*, a Sea-Town in *Sweden*; but he did not uſe all the Diligence that was neceſſary, and through a great Miſtake took his Courſe by Sea, when he might have been able in a little Time to have gain'd *Finland* by Land, which continued faithful to him. In ſhort, the maritime Coaſts of *Sweden* are full of ſteep Rocks, which make it as difficult to land among them, as the Proſpect of them is frightful. They look at a Diſtance like high Ramparts, impoſſible to be penetrated. And the nearer one comes to Shore, the more Reaſon there is for apprehending Danger from the Shelves and Sands. Some lie upon a Level with the Water; others are covered by the Waves; and others diſcover themſelves only to be dreaded by the Mariners. The Inhabitants of the Country call them *Sharen*, and they line the Coaſts of the *Swediſh* Sea for above 200 *German* Miles in Length, and ſix in Breadth. Theſe little Iſlands, which are innumerable, form a Labyrinth, which is not eaſily pervious; for they are all ſhap'd alike, and it is morally impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them from each other, or fix any Names to them.

Stephen Banner, the Admiral of the King's Fleet, wander'd a long Time in the Windings of this *Archipelagus*, and gave Time to *Charles* to get ready his Forces. The Wind carried *Banner* from the Road he deſign'd to take, and drove him towards *Steckbourg*. If he had purſu'd the Courſe which Fortune pointed out to him, and march'd

march'd directly to *Stockholm*, *Charles* muſt have been taken unprovided, and perhaps oblig'd to a Compliance with whatever *Sigiſmond* might have impoſed; but the King tarried ſome Days at *Steckbourg* to confer with his Siſter, and in the mean while the Wind became contrary. *Charles* had therefore Time to make all neceſſary Preparations, and the Zeal of the King's Friends began to abate through his Remiſneſs.

Sigiſmond made another falſe Step, by entering *Sweden* with a foreign Force. It was thought, that the Duke of *Suderland* would have ſubmitted, if the King had not uſed Menaces towards him, and compell'd him to take up Arms for the Defence of his Life and Eſtate; but that after he had raiſed an Army, and Fortune prov'd favourable to him, he laid hold of the Opportunity to carry the Rebellion farther than he at firſt intended. Be this as it will, *Charles* advanced with an Army, to meet *Sigiſmond* as far as the Plains of *Lincopen*, and then diſpatch'd certain Lords to him, to bring Matters to an Accommodation. *Sigiſmond* at firſt refuſed to hear them; but was prevail'd on afterwards to grant them an Audience. In the mean time the *Hungarians* without any Order fell upon the *Swediſh* Troops with ſo much Fury, that if the King had not founded a Retreat, and gone himſelf into the Field of Battle, they would have intirely defeated them. Enrag'd however to ſee the Victory thus wreſted out of their Hands, they threw themſelves upon the dead Bodies of the *Swedes*, cut them to pieces, and made a like Carnage amongſt them as wild Beaſts would have done, which had been oppreſſed with Hunger. This Action alienated the Affections of the *Swedes* ſtill more from the King, whilſt the odious Barbarity of the *Hungarians* was imputed to *Sigiſmond*. Several Lords of his Party went

Charles appoſes him.

went over to *Charles* upon this Occaſion, who ſoon oblig'd the King to return into *Poland*. He recovered *Stockholm* and *Calmar*, which had declared for *Sigiſmund*, and puniſhed all thoſe as Rebels, who had ſhewn any Inclination to ſerve their lawful Prince.

He returns into Poland.

He then held a Diet at *Jencopen*, in which a Day was preſcribed for *Sigiſmond* to return into *Sweden*; and the ſame Decree was repeated in another Aſſembly held at *Stockholm* ſoon after. *Charles*, who as yet play'd the Diſſembler, and mov'd by gentle Degrees towards the Throne, procur'd an Ordinance, that if the King would not immediately come over, and by his Preſence put a Stop to the Calamities of the State, they would elect his eldeſt Son *Ladiſlaus*, upon Condition that *Sigiſmond* would ſend him into *Sweden* to be there brought up.

War in Livonia.

The War was now carried into *Livonia*. *Charles* made himſelf Maſter of *Pernaw*, *Solen*, *Leiſs* and *Fallin*. *Derpt* was next beſieged, and had the ſame Fate, inſomuch that in ſix Months Time the whole Province was ſubject to the Uſurper, except two or three ſtrong Places. The *Poles*, the *Germans*, and the *Swedes* ravaged by Turns; and the unfortunate *Livonians* felt all the moſt dreadful Miſeries that War could inflict. As *Livonia* depended upon *Poland*, the Invaſion of *Charles* cauſed a Rupture with this Kingdom, and *Sigiſmond*'s Quarrel became that of the Republick. Thus *John Sarius Zamoski* march'd into *Livonia* at the Head of a *Poliſh* Army to oppoſe the Progreſs of *Charles*, and recover the Places which he had taken. *Wolmer* was his firſt Conqueſt. *Helmet Weiſſenſtein*, *Mariembourg*, and *Nienhuſen* were carried with a like Rapidity. He ſtarv'd *Ronebourg* into a Compliance, which the *Lithuanians* the Year before had fruitleſly beſieged; and the

the ſtrong Place of *Fellin* was oblig'd to open her Gates to him.

Tho' *Charles* of *Suderland* had long poſſeſſed the Throne of *Sweden* under the Name of Regent, he had never yet ventur'd to take upon himſelf the Style of King. At laſt, to compleat his Crime, and procure a Title, which ſo much flatter'd his Ambition, he caus'd a Libel to be diſperſed, in which *Sigiſmond* was accuſed as having infringed the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and endeavoured to introduce the *Romiſh* Religion into *Sweden*. The King was repreſented as a Tyrant, who had intended the Deſtruction of his own Subjects, and already put to Death a great Number of them in different Engagements; and in the Concluſion the *Swedes* were exhorted to make choice of another King. This Libel had the Effect which *Charles* expected. The Eſtates met together; *Sigiſmond* was depos'd, and the Crown offered to *Charles*. But the crafty Aſpirer, who ſought to leſſen the Odium of an Uſurpation by an affected Modeſty, pretended imaginary Scruples, which in Reality he had not. He muſt in a manner be forced upon accepting what in his Heart he ſo eagerly deſired; and the Nation muſt ſeem to place him upon the Throne, as the Recompence of the many Services he had done the State. However, he was not crown'd till two Years after. 1654. *Charles of Suderland uſurps the Crown of Sweden from his Nephew Sigiſmond.*

Zamoski, after he had recover'd from the *Swedes* almoſt all the Places they had taken, return'd into *Poland*, and gave up the Command of the Army in *Livonia* to *Charles Chotkiewit*, who, by his Conduct and Valour, ſhew'd himſelf a worthy Succeſſor to the great Man who had preceded him in the Generalſhip. The Duke of *Suderland* 1605. *He retakes in Livonia.*

having paſſed into *Livonia* with a Fleet of 40 Sail, and 12000 Men on Board, ſummoned the Inhabitants of *Riga* to ſurrender, and upon their Refuſal laid Siege to the Town. *Andrew Linderſon*, an Officer in the *Swediſh* Service, march'd out from *Revel* at the ſame time with 4000 Men, to join the Army of his Maſter; but the *Poliſh* General being inform'd of his March, put a Stop to his Progreſs, and defeated him between *Fellin* and *Pernaw*. He then advanced towards the Place beſieged, and ſeized upon an advantagious Poſt, which Nature had fortified, from whence he could ſecurely view the Steps of the Enemy. The Uſurper, who was deſirous abſolutely to engage, ſtrove to move the *Poles* from their Situation, and draw them out into the open Field. To ſucceed the better in this Scheme, he poſted himſelf upon a little Hill over againſt their Camp, at the Foot of which was a ſpacious Plain, which divided the two Armies. But *Chotkiewit* continued firm in a Poſt, where he could not be attack'd, and which kept the *Swedes* in awe, and ſtirr'd not a Step till the Enemy, thro' an Eagerneſs of fighting, had engaged to a Diſadvantage. In ſhort, the Duke of *Suderland*, impatient of any longer Delay, ventur'd into the Plain to attack the *Poles*, and force them to an Engagement. As ſoon as *Chotkiewit* perceiv'd that he could fight to Advantage, and that the Diſpoſition of the Ground counter-balanced the Number of the Enemy, he poured like an impetuous Torrent from the Hill where he lay encamp'd, fell upon the Enemy that were below him, attack'd their Right Wing, broke it, and put it to the Rout. The *Swedes* detach'd a Body of Horſe from their Left Wing to ſurround him; but *John Sapieha*, who had foreſeen their Motion, fell upon that Body, and put them to flight. The Number of the

the Enemy however made the Victory more difficult. They frequently rallied, fought again, ſtill reſiſted, but at laſt were forced to yield. What followed, was more a Slaughter than a Battle. Eight Thouſand *Swedes* were kill'd upon the ſpot. Part of their Fugitives were knock'd on the head by the Country People; and others blinded by their Fears, threw themſelves into the Bogs, where they periſhed. The Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenbourg*, who followed *Charles* of *Suderland* in this Expedition, were ſlain. *Andrew Linderſon*, Count *Mansfeld*, and the Uſurper himſelf, were dangerouſly wounded.

Muſcovy this Year underwent a moſt ſurprizing Revolution. The Czar *Theodore* died in 1598, and had left the Adminiſtration of his large Territories to his Wife *Gernia*. This Princeſs had a Brother nam'd *Boris*, who, by his Addreſs and artful Inſinuations, had gain'd the Confidence of *Theodore*, and was advanced to the higheſt Offices in the State. So many Inſtances of Kindneſs would have raiſed a grateful Senſe in any other Breaſt, and ſatisfied any other Man but *Boris*: But all the Honours his Prince heap'd upon him, ſerv'd only to blow up his Ambition, which carried his Views as far as to the Throne. The Czar had no Children; and *Demetrius* his younger Brother was to be his Succeſſor. *Boris* caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated in the Life-time of *Theodorus*, and had Cunning enough to conceal his Crime. He was indeed ſuſpected of it, and it was feared leſt he ſhould make ſome Attempt upon the Life of the Czar; but to efface all theſe Suſpicions, he leſſen'd the Taxes, gave ear to the Complaints of Towns, redreſſed the Grievances of private Perſons, and found Means to make himſelf belov'd by the People.

Revolution in Muſcovy.

The Death of Demetrius

The Death of Theodore *and Interregnum.*

Upon the Death of *Theodore*, the Nation offer'd to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Empreſs *Germia*; but that Princeſs, either to pave the Way to the Throne for her Brother, or through an Exceſs of Grief for her deceaſed Husband, declar'd that ſhe would renounce the World, and put the Adminiſtration into the Hands of the *Knés* and the *Boiares*.

Upon this Declaration the People roſe and ran to the Gates of the Monaſtery, where *Boris* alſo was, and beſought them, that they would not abandon their faithful Subjects, who would never obey any other Princes. *Boris* ſhew'd himſelf to the People; and to calm a Tumult, which fell but little ſhort of a Sedition, he promiſed, that as ſoon as the forty Days of Mourning were over, he would take upon himſelf the Reins of the Government, provided the *Boiares* would divide with him the Cares of ſo painful an Employment.

The Czarina took the Veil, and the Time of Mourning being over, the People were call'd together into the Citadel. The Chancellor *Baſil Jacoblinitz Salo Calf* exhorted them to ſubmit to the *Boiares*, and acknowledge their Authority; but the whole Aſſembly ſeem'd to be enrag'd at his Diſcourſe, and loudly demanded Prince *Boris*, the Brother of the Czarina, as that Princeſs had retired. Upon theſe Acclamations *Boris*, who was preſent, roſe up, and with a feigned Modeſty, which he affected only to make the greater Impreſſion upon the People, refuſed the Crown they offer'd him. He even withdrew into the Monaſtery where his Siſter was, and continued there a whole Month. At laſt the People flock thither in Troops, tumultuouſly demand him, and threaten to ſet fire to the Convent, if he did not preſently appear.

The People demand Boris *to be Czar. After ſome Reſiſtance he accepts the Crown.*

The

The Czarina ſtrives to calm their Paſſions, returns to her Brother, throws herſelf at his Feet, conjures him with Tears in her Eyes to appeaſe a People, whom too great a Love for him was about to carry to the utmoſt Exceſs. H yields at laſt, when he thinks he had reſiſted enough, to ſtop the Clamours of envious Tongues, and *Gernia* lets the People know, that her Entreaties had prevail'd upon her Brother to comply, and that he was now willing to take upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of the Empire.

A ſuppoſitious Demetrius riſes againſt Boris.

Boris govern'd *Ruſſia* in Peace, when an Impoſtor roſe up againſt him, and wreſted the Sceptre out of his Hands, which he had gain'd by ſo enormous a Villainy. A Stranger appears under the Name of *Demetrius*, who had been aſſaſſinated by the Orders of *Boris*, and calls himſelf the right Heir of *Theodore*. He gave out, that his Mother, inform'd of the Conſpiracy laid by *Boris* againſt the Life of the Prince of *Muſcovy*, and foreſeeing the Danger, had laid another Child in his Bed, which had been maſſacred in his ſtead, and buried immediately, for fear the Aſſaſſin ſhould diſcover the Artifice. Beſides all this, he exactly reſembled the true *Demetrius*. He had, like him, one of his Arms longer than the other, and a like Mole in his Face; but then his Senſe, his Air, and his genteel Behaviour, ſeem'd all to put his Birth out of queſtion.

The Jeſuits ſupport him.

He firſt applied to the *Poliſh* Jeſuits, and gave them Hopes, that if ever he came to the Throne of his Fathers, his firſt Care ſhould be to draw over the *Ruſſians* to the Church of *Rome*. The Jeſuits wrote immediately to the Pope, and preſs'd his Holineſs to engage the King of *Poland* to give Aſſiſtance to this pretended Prince. They then preſented him to *George Mecinski*, the Palatine of *Sendomir*, whoſe Daughter he privately promiſed

to marry, and he introduc'd him into the Court of *Poland*.

He appears before the King of Poland, who promises him Assistance.

Tho' a Suppliant, he addreſs'd himſelf to the King like a Prince, and without making any Submiſſions which might have betray'd his Birth, and was then receiv'd in *Poland* as the true *Demetrius*. There he raiſed an Army of 10000 Men, march'd towards the Frontiers of *Muſcovy*, paſs'd the *Boriſthenes*, and took *Zerniga* without any Oppoſition. The *Coſſacks*, gain'd by his Promiſes, joined him; and *Corelas* their Head, opened to him the Gates of *Putimle*.

Boris, in the mean while, informed of the Storm which was gathering in *Poland*, wrote to the Senate, that he could not have thought the Wiſdom of the *Poles* could have been ſurprized by a Fable ſo evidently falſe, or that they would have infringed the Treaties between them in favour of an Impoſtor; that *Demetrius* was dead, and the whole Nation knew it, and had mourned for him; he therefore beſought *Sigiſmond* to ſeize upon the Perſon of the ſuppoſititious *Demetrius*, and ſend him to him dead or alive. He added, that if the *Poles* ſhould ſupply the Impoſtor with any Succours, they ſhould learn by a fatal Experience, what it was to provoke the Rage of the Emperor of *Ruſſia*. Beſides theſe Menaces, he had recourſe to Intreaties, and applied to the Senators privately, to gain them over to his Intereſts; but the Pope's Sollicitations and the Credit of the Jeſuits prevail'd, and the King was perſuaded, that it was the Intereſt of Religion and the Republic, to ſupport the Party of *Demetrius*.

Thus *Boris* levied an Army, and march'd againſt this pretended Prince at the Head of 100000 Men. The Palatine of *Sendomir*, who commanded the Army of *Demetrius*, flattered himſelf

himſelf that a great Part of the Enemies Troops would paſs over to him, and therefore he ſought for an Opportunity to engage, though his Forces were unequal; but he was defeated on the firſt Onſet, and oblig'd to fly. *He is beaten.*

Demetrius eſcap'd into the Caſtle of *Rillesk*, where he defended himſelf with Courage, though almoſt all his Soldiers had forſaken him: Even the two *Carthuſians*, whom he had brought with him as Witneſſes of his Piety and Zeal for the *Romiſh* Religion, deſerted him; but the Jeſuits *Nicholas Ckerrakowski* and *Andrew Lowitz* were conſtant to him, and encouraged him by their Example and Diſcourſe. He ſeem'd himſelf throughly convinc'd of the Goodneſs of his Cauſe; and whenever he went to engage, he was ſeen to lift up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and pray God to ſtrike him dead with Thunder, if his Pretenſions to the Throne were not juſt.

Fortune ſoon after declared for him. He beat the *Muſcovite* Army, which beſieged him, with an Handful of Men, and forced them to a ſhameful Retreat. He then entred *Pontivol*. Five neighbouring Towns opened him their Gates; and he found in *Bialogrod* an hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon. *Jaleka* and *Luptine* preſently after ſurrender'd; and the whole Province of *Severia* ſubmitted to him.

Whilſt he lay at *Pontivol*, *Boris* ſent certain Emiſſaries to aſſaſſinate him; and the Patriarch of *Muſcovy* publiſhed a Decree, by which he excommunicated all the Followers of *Demetrius*. The Aſſaſſins being diſcovered, *Demetrius* treated them with Clemency, and gave them their Pardons. He wrote at the ſame time to the Patriarch, and deſired he would confine himſelf within the Bounds of his Miniſtry, and not employ Religion in the Support of an unjuſt Cauſe. He is *His Succeſs.*

ſaid likewiſe to have ſent a Letter to *Boris*, in which he, in very lively Terms, reproached him with the Means he had made uſe of to aſcend the Throne, and offered him Pardon, with conſiderable Advantages to himſelf and his Family, in caſe he would retire into a Monaſtery, of which the Choice ſhould be left to himſelf. *Boris* was ſo ſtruck with the reading of this Letter, that, whether through Indignation or Remorſe, he fell into an Apoplexy, and died, after having reign'd ſeven Years.

Boris dies.

His Son was crowned, and all the Lords took an Oath of Fidelity to him; but a blind Fortune ſoon changed the Face of Affairs, and diſplaced the Son of *Boris* to raiſe *Demetrius* to the Throne, who was almoſt as ſoon plucked down.

Crom was beſieged by the *Muſcovites*, and had already ſuſtained ten Aſſaults. *Demetrius*, in whoſe favour that City had declared, was afraid leſt it ſhould fall under the redoubled Efforts of the Beſiegers, and diſpatch'd *Zaporski* to its Aſſiſtance. As that General had not Troops enough to break through the *Ruſſian* Camp by Force, he had recourſe to Stratagem. He made uſe of an ignorant Country Fellow, by whom he ſent a Letter to the Governor of *Crom*, in which he preſſed him to a vigorous Reſiſtance, upon Hopes of the ſpeedy Arrival of 40000 Men, who were already upon their March to ſuccour him. This Fellow was taken by the Beſiegers, as *Zaporski* intended that he ſhould. He was put to the Queſtion, and confeſs'd what himſelf was fully perſuaded of, that *Zaporski* was upon his March with a numerous Army. The *Muſcovites*, aſtoniſhed at this falſe Report, immediately converted the Siege into a Blockade, and went to meet *Zaporski*, who, to confirm their Fears, ſtretched out his Troops as much as poſſible, ordered a great

Noiſe

Noiſe to be made in the Camp, and commanded all the Valets of his Army to mount on Horſeback. He likewiſe ſent certain Soldiers into the Enemies Camp, who pretending to be Deſerters, aſſured the *Ruſſian* General and his Officers, that another Body of Troops was following *Zaporſki*, who taking Advantage of their Miſtake, fell upon them immediately with all the Briſkneſs the *Poles* were capable of. The Attack proved ſucceſsful: The firſt Ranks of the Enemy were broken, and *Peter Buſmanof*, who had been the firſt Miniſter of *Boris*, immediately abandoned the Cauſe of his Son, to declare in favour of *Demetrius*. The Example of ſo conſiderable a Man drew after him a great Number of Officers, who ſubmitted and ſent Deputies to *Demetrius*, to aſſure him of their Fidelity. General *John Houdun*, who refuſed to comply, was put under a Guard, and ſent to Priſon.

The Army declares for Demetrius.

Moſcow followed the Example of the Army, and the People there roſe in favour of *Demetrius*. The Widow of *Boris*, the *Czar*, his Son and Daughter, were ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon. The Dowager Czarina, fearing the Vengeance of the Conqueror, took down a Draught of Poiſon, and gave of it to her two Children. The Son of *Boris* died of it; but his Daughter, upon taking an Antidote, ſurvived.

Demetrius made a magnificent Entry into the Capital of the Empire, and was there ſolemnly acknowledged Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and King of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, Provinces which *John Baſilides* had conquered. His Coronation was ſolemnized towards the End of *July*, and his pretended Mother aſſiſted at the Ceremony. She had been ſhut up in an obſcure Monaſtery by the Order of *Boris*, where ſhe had remained in an intire Oblivion. *Demetrius* took her out from thence,

He makes an Entry into Moſcow.

His Behaviour towards his Subjects.

thence, embraced her with Tears in his Eyes, gave her an Attendance ſuitable to her Quality, and heaped continual Honours upon her. The Princeſs, on her ſide, either flattered by the Change of her Condition, or afraid to declare what ſhe thought, owned the pretended *Demetrius* for her Son, and by that means confirmed the common Miſtake of all the *Muſcovites*.

But the Preference he gave to the *Poles* before his native Subjects, the Inclination he ſhewed towards the *Romiſh* Religion, and the Treatment he gave to the Family of *Boris*, proved fatal to him. He removed the *Muſcovites* from his Court and all Employments, and ſhewed Favour only to the Foreigners, who advanced him to the Throne, and particularly to the *Jeſuits*, who obtained a rich Eſtabliſhment in *Moſcow*. Seventy of the moſt conſiderable Families in the Empire, which were either allied to the late Czar, or held out too long in the Cauſe of his Sons, were attainted, and their Eſtates given to the *Poliſh* Lords who had followed him.

Whilſt all ſubmitted to *Demetrius*, *Theodore Swiſki* or *Chouſqui* was almoſt the only one who ventured to riſe up againſt the Authority of this new Prince. He endeavoured to form a Conſpiracy, and harangued againſt him in a moſt virulent manner; but theſe firſt Efforts proved unſucceſsful, and the Plot being diſcovered, he was taken up and condemned by the Senate. *Swiſki* was brought to the Scaffold, when *Demetrius*, through a Clemency which proved fatal to him, prevented the Blow, and granted his Pardon to the Criminal.

1606. In the mean time the new Czar ſent a magnificent Embaſſy into *Poland*, to return Thanks to *Sigiſmond* for the Aſſiſtance he had given him, to renew

renew the former Treaties, and demand the Daughter of the Palatine of *Sendomir* in Marriage. She came into *Muſcovy* with her Father, her Uncle, and a long Train of *German* and *Italian* Merchants. Within ſome few Days after her Arrival, ſhe was crown'd by the Patriarch of *Ruſſia*, who likewiſe performed the Ceremony of the Marriage. *He marries the Daughter of the Palatine of* Sendomir.

Tho' all Things carried the Face of publick Tranquillity, there was notwithſtanding a private Conſpiracy againſt the pretended *Demetrius*. Whether it was through Prudence, or Fear and Remorſe, but he foreſaw all the Miſchief which threatened him; the Conſpiracy he had diſcovered ſix Months before, returned to his Mind, and he feared the Conſequences of a Plot which he had left unpuniſhed. Beſides, he had no Guards, and could not but wonder at himſelf, for having diſmiſſed, thro' a blind Confidence, the *German* Troops, which he had in his Pay. As to the *Poles*, their Number was inconſiderable, and inſtead of being able to reſtrain the Fury of an enraged People, they could only ſerve to inflame it. In ſhort, they treated the *Muſcovites* as a conquered Nation, and with ſo much Contempt, that theſe revengeful People were in a Hurry to get rid of theſe proud Foreigners, and the Prince who had brought them in with him. The Quarrel began at an Entertainment, where the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador would be placed at the Czar's Table. As this Pretenſion was contrary to Cuſtom, the principal of the *Boiares* were ſo provoked at it, that they were hardly reſtrained from coming to Blows. *A Plot againſt him.*

Some few Days after, the Storm broke out. On the 27*th* of *May*, the Conſpirators met early in the Morning. They were joined by the Body of the Nobility, and the People roſe to their Aſſiſtance. *The Poles are aſſembled.*

ſiſtance. Some of them beſiege the Quarter of the *Poles*, attack it, carry it, and put all to the Sword; whilſt others run furiouſly towards the Citadel, where the Gariſon, either ſurprized or corrupted, make but a faint Reſiſtance. *Peter Buſmanof*, the Confident of *Demetrius*, was killed upon the very firſt Onſet; and *Swiſki*, at the Head of a Troop of Conſpirators, with a Sword drawn in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other, makes himſelf Maſter of the Avenues of the Prince's Apartment. The Impoſtor awakes at the Noiſe, lays hold of his Sabre, and throws himſelf out at the Window. Being hurt in his Thigh, he was ſoon laid hold of, notwithſtanding all his Oppoſitions, and led into a great Hall, by *Swiſki*'s Orders. But tho' Death ſtood round him on every Side, his Courage never left him, and he behaved like a Prince to the laſt Moment of his Life. A *Boiare* preſuming to ſpeak diſreſpectfully to him, he puniſhed him immediately for his Inſolence, and gave him a Blow with his Sabre. He then ſpoke reſolutely to the Conſpirators, deſired the People might be admitted, and the Princeſs his Mother brought, to aſſure them ſtill that he was the real Son of *John Baſilides*. But *Swiſki*, who obſerved the Conſpirators to be ſomewhat moved, cauſed him to be killed immediately, with a *German* Officer that was preſent, for fear he ſhould divulge what had paſſed.

The falſe Demetrius is ſlain.

Paterſon a *Swediſh* Hiſtorian aſſerts, on the other hand, that *Swiſki* produced the Widow of *John Baſilides*, and Mother of *Demetrius*, and that the Princeſs declared her Son had been ſlain; but that ſhe durſt not venture to aver it till then; and beſides ſhe was overjoyed to ſee the Avenger of *Boris*'s Villainy upon the Throne.

Judgment concerning him.

It is commonly believed that this *Demetrius* was an Impoſtor: And yet, the Reſemblance of his Perſon

Perſon and Countenance with the Prince whoſe Name he aſſumed, his Courage after his firſt Defeat, the Greatneſs of Mind which appeared in all his Actions, and the Declarations of the Dowager of *John Baſilides*, who at firſt owned him for her Son; all theſe Circumſtances have led ſome to believe, that the *Muſcovites* unjuſtly murdered the lawful Heir to the Crown. His Behaviour at his Death is uncertain. Thoſe who conſider him as a Counterfeit, ſay, that he own'd the Impoſture before his Death, and that his pretended Mother declared that her Son was aſſaſſinated by *Boris*. Others, on the contrary, maintain, that he conſtantly defended his Character and Condition; that the Dowager Czarina never diſowned him for her Son, and that, laſtly, his Inclination to favour the *Romiſh* Religion, and the Friendſhip he expreſſed towards the *Poles*, were the ſole Cauſes of his Misfortune.

However this be, as ſoon as he was ſlain, *Swiſki* cauſed him to be publickly expoſed for four Days, and his dead Body was treated by the Populace with the utmoſt Indignity. Twelve hundred *Poles* periſhed with him. The foreign Merchants were plundered: One ſingle Man loſt 200000 Florins, and almoſt all of them were put to the Sword. The Daughter of the Palatine of *Sendomir*, who had ſo lately arrived from *Poland*, with ſuch Pomp and Magnificence, and but a few Days before had ſeen herſelf poſſeſs'd of the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, was taken into Cuſtody and thrown into an obſcure Priſon, and happy enough that ſhe eſcaped with Life. At length the Fury of the People being abated, they proceeded to the Election of a Czar, and *Swiſki* was choſen. *Swiski is choſen.*

His firſt Care was to lay open the Death and Impoſture of the pretended *Demetrius*. He ſent abroad

abroad a Declaration, in which it was aſſerted, that his true Name was *Gregory Griſki* or *Strepy*; that he had been a Monk and a Domeſtick of the Patriarch's; and that he aſcended the Throne by Means of Witchcraft. But tho' his Death was certain, and all the *Muſcovites* in a manner were Witneſſes of it, yet another *Demetrius* appeared upon the Stage, and maintained that this pretended Prince was not ſlain, but had eſcaped with a ſmall Number of his Guards. Tho' the Cheat was manifeſt, yet ſome of the Lords adhered to him; and the *Coſſacks*, encouraged by the Love of Plunder, and glad of any Pretext for Pillage, joined with him; and laſtly, the Daughter of the Palatine of *Sendomir*, who with Difficulty had eſcaped out of her Priſon at *Moſcow*, loudly proclaimed him to be her Husband; but he had not the ſame good Fortune as the Perſon whom he repreſented, for he never came to the Throne, but was aſſaſſinated by the *Tartars*, who ſerved him as his Guards.

Another Demetrius riſes up.

1609. 1610. In the mean while *Sigiſmond*, by means of the Troubles which the two pretended *Demetrius*'s had raiſed in *Muſcovy*, made conſiderable Conqueſts in the Country. The laſt ſerved him as a Pretext for entring *Ruſſia*. He raiſed a great Army, and marched againſt *Smolenſko*, a City formerly belonging to *Poland*, but had been taken from them by the Czars ever ſince the Year 1514. The *Poles* had the firſt Advantage near *Cluſin*, and beat an Army of 26000 *Muſcovites*. The Town of *Zaroba* was then carried by *Sulcofs*, who commanded a Detachment of *Sigiſmond*'s Army.

The Conqueſt of Smolensko by the Poles. The Siege of *Smolenſko* laſted near two Years, and there fell there 200000 *Muſcovites*, either by the Sword of the Conqueror, or by Sickneſs.

This

This important Place was carried at laſt by Aſſault; the Province of *Severia* ſubmitted to *Sigiſmond*, and the *Poles* already threatened the Capital of the *Ruſſian* Empire, when the *Muſcovites*, attributing their Misfortunes to the Prince that governed them, depoſed *Swiſki*, gave him up into the Hands of the King of *Poland*, and by the Advice of *Muſciſlas* Governor of *Moſcow*, offered the Crown to *Ladiſlaus* the eldeſt Son of *Sigiſmond*. 1611. *Swiſki depoſed. Ladiſlaus Prince of Poland chooſen by the Ruſſians.*

This young Prince did not wear it long; for the *Muſcovites* revolted almoſt in the Inſtant they had taken an Oath of Fidelity to their new Maſter. Whether it was through a natural Inconſtancy, or that the Beginning of *Ladiſlaus*'s Reign made them ſenſible of the Danger of being under the Dominion of a *Poliſh* Prince; but the whole Nation, by a general Conſpiracy, took up Arms, and elected for Czar *Fœderowitz Romanos*, Son of the Patriarch *Theodorus*. *Fœderowitz* immediately laid Siege to *Moſcow*, where there was a Gariſon of 7000 *Poles*. As the Place was of too large Extent to ſuſtain a Siege, its Defenders ſeeing they were not in a Condition to preſerve it, ſet fire to the City, and above 100000 Houſes were conſumed by the Fire, beſides immenſe Riches. The *Poles* then retired into the Citadel, and made there a brave Reſiſtance. *They rebel againſt him, and lay Siege to Moſkow.*

Sigiſmond might have ſuccoured them, and his Glory engaged him to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours towards preſerving ſo fine a Conqueſt; but he ſent none but very faint Succours into *Muſcovy*, inſomuch that the Gariſon of the Place beſieged was obliged to capitulate, after having ſuffered the laſt Extremities. *They take the Town.*

Fœderowitz made a right Uſe of theſe Advantages, and the Inactivity of the King of *Poland*. Having provided for the Security of his Capital City, he ſat down before *Smolenſko*, a Place of great

great Importance to either State. The Gariſon was ſmall, and the Loſſes the *Poles* had lately ſuffered, had leſſened their Courage. The Place was carried by Aſſault, upon the firſt Attack, and the Gariſon cut to pieces. From this Time forward *Sigiſmond*'s Endeavours to reſtore his Affairs in *Ruſſia*, proved of no Moment. He had let ſlip the favourable Opportunity, either of bringing the *Muſcovites* under Subjection, or of gaining their Affections for ever, and the ſame Circumſtances returned no more. It was in vain, that his Son *Ladiſlaus*, ſome Years after, marched into *Muſcovy*, with a numerous Army. His Succeſs was in no reſpect anſwerable to his Hopes, and he was obliged to return into *Poland*, and agree to a Truce of fourteen Years.

and Smolenſko.

After ſo much Blood ſhed, ſo many Battles, Sieges, and Revolutions, what now was the Iſſue of theſe great Events? *Muſcovy*, after having ſeen upon the Throne of its Princes the Aſſaſſin of the lawful Heir of the Crown, becomes the Sport of an infamous Impoſtor. Shaken to its very Foundations, and overſpread with the Blood of the moſt illuſtrious *Boiares*, it becomes a Prey to the *Poles*, its mortal Enemies, and ſubmits to the ſhameful Yoke of a ſuppoſititious *Demetrius*. *Swiſki* revenges its Quarrel, and reigns, but is in an Inſtant driven from the Throne, by the very ſame People who had juſt raiſed him to it. Another Impoſtor ſtarts up, and occaſions freſh Troubles and new Misfortunes. The Blood of the *Muſcovites* ſtreams down in every Quarter; *Smolensko* alone is the Grave of 200000 *Ruſſians*; *Moſcow* is taken; *Ladiſlaus* acknowledged as Czar, and in the ſame Breath depoſed. There comes at laſt a thorough Alteration. The Misfortunes of *Ruſſia* are no more. *Fœderowitz* is elected. He repoſſeſſes his Capital, and extinguiſhes there

there the Fires which the *Poles* had kindled. They yield; they fly. *Smolensko* is carried by Aſſault, and *Sigiſmond*, after ſuch great Advantages and ſo many Victories, can preſerve no more than the Duchy of *Severia* and *Novogrod*.

Bethleem Gabor, having driven *Gabriel Battori* 1619.
out of *Tranſilvania*, had made himſelf Maſter of all that Principality. The Troubles of *Bohemia* furniſhed him next with a favourable Opportunity of gratifying his Ambition. He carried the War into *Hungary*, took *Caſſow*, *Fillek*, and *Tirnaw*. In fine, becoming Maſter of *Preſbourg*, he aſſumed the Title of *Prince of Hungary*. The *Bohemians*, who had revolted againſt the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and choſe *Frederic* the Elector *Palatine* for their King, applied to the Prince of *Tranſilvania* for his Aſſiſtance, to ſupport them againſt the Forces of *Ferdinand*, who, on his Side, implor'd the Succour of the King of *Poland*. *Sigiſmond* ſupplied the Emperor with 4000 *Coſſacks*, by whoſe Means the Uſurper *Frederic* was driven from the Throne. But the Part which the *Poles* had in this War, drew upon their Country the Arms of the *Ottomans*.

War with the Turks. The Cauſe of it.

In ſhort, *Gabor*, who was ſupported by the *Turks*, and had great Credit at the *Port*, accuſed *Gratiani* the Vaivode of *Moldavia*, of adhering to the *Poles*, who were allied to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, though he was the Vaſſal and Tributary of the Sultan; and *Sander* the Baſha had Orders to paſs into *Moldavia*, and ſeize upon the Vaivode.

Zolkienski marched to the Succour of *Gratiani* with 8000 *Poles*; and though the Vaivode, who had promiſed to meet him with 14000 Horſe, joined him only with 600 Men, he took the brave Reſolution, either of conquering an Army of 70000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, or periſhing in the At-

tempt. The firſt Action paſſed in *Moldavia.*
1620. Never was there an Engagement more bold and
A Battle in Moldavia. bloody. The *Poles* ſtood like an impenetrable Wall againſt the *Tartars*, who fell upon their Wings, and the *Janiſſaries*, who atracked them in Front. The Courage and Addreſs of the great General, and the good Order he cauſed to be obſerved in his Troops, counterbalanc'd the Advantage of Numbers, and the Infidels were the firſt who left off fighting. *Zolkienski* continued in the Field of Battle, and expected to renew the Action early the next Morning; but either thro' Cowardice, or Jealouſy of Command, ſeveral of his principal Officers deſerted him in the Night, and carried off with them 4000 of his Men, which were one half of his little Army, ſo that he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity of thinking of a Retreat. It was difficult to ſucceed in it in Preſence of a couragious Enemy, whoſe Forces were infinitely ſuperior. He attempted it nevertheleſs; and if he was not ſo fortunate as to meet with Succeſs, he at leaſt deſerved all the Glory of it.

Zolkienski's Retreat. As ſoon as he was informed of the Deſertion of his Troops, he formed a ſquare Battalion of the faithful Soldiers that were left him, made a kind of moveable Entrenchment around them with his Chariots, and marched in this Order to gain the *Nieſter*. He was within two or three Days Journey of *Mohilow*, the firſt Place of *Poland* on that Side; but he had the *Tartars* to reſiſt, who were continually haraſſing him, and was under ſuch a Neceſſity of avoiding the Woods and Mountains that lay in his Paſſage, that he was obliged to go a great Way about. In the Day-time he was forced to fight, and to march in the Night. On the firſt of *October*, the *Turks* attack'd him without any Succeſs. Sheltered by his Waggons, he defended himſelf with ſo much Courage and

and Addreſs, and certain Field-pieces he had with him, fired ſo advantageouſly upon the Enemies Battalions, that he oblig'd them to retire. In ſhort, he had already march'd eight Days, and was got within two Leagues of the *Nieſter*; he was within a Moment of compaſſing his Intentions, and his little Troop, after having braved an Army of near 80000 Men, were upon the Point of paſſing the River, when a panic Fright, which ſeized upon the Attendants of the Camp, made the brave *Zolkienſki* loſe the Fruit of ſo much Dexterity, and ſo difficult a March. As the Night came on, the Valets obſerving ſome Mules a grazing, ran to catch them; but of a ſudden imagining that the *Tartars*, who appear'd ſo terrible to them, lay in Ambuſh behind them, they took to their Heels, and ſet up ſo loud a Cry, that they ſpread Terror throughout the Camp. The like Dread ſeized upon the Soldiers, who ſtreight fell into Confuſion; and thus thoſe brave *Poles*, who had lately made ſo ſtout a Reſiſtance, were defeated, as I may ſay, by the Shadow of an Enemy, whom they had ſo often reſolutely encountred Face to Face. The *Tartars*, informed of the Diſorder, fell upon the ſcattered and affrighted Soldiers, and cut them to pieces, or made them Slaves. The couragious *Zolkienſki* was almoſt the only Perſon who ventured to diſpute his Life; but after ſeveral very fruitleſs Efforts, he was at laſt overpower'd by Numbers. His Head was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. The Conquerors then ravag'd *Podolia*; and that was all the Fruit they gained from a Victory, which was no otherwiſe conſiderable than by the brave Reſiſtance of the Conquered.

But the Revenge of *Gabor*, who was the Spring of this War, was not hereby ſatisfied. He gain'd 1621.

Oſman *Emperor of the* Turks *marches into* Moldavia, *with an Army of near* 300000 *Men.*

over the principal Baſha's to his Party, and having drawn them into his Views, they on their Side engaged the Sultan in an Expedition, which according to all outward Appearance muſt have been attended with very fatal Conſequences to *Poland*. *Oſman* was then upon the Throne of the *Ottoman* Empire. Young and ambitious, he was bent wholly upon War, either through a natural Inclination, or for the ſake of employing that dreadful Body of Troops, which, too apt to Mutiny when unemployed, might as eaſily dethrone him, as they had lately given him the Scepter they took from *Muſtapha*. All *Turky* was preſently in Motion for the Preparations for this Campaign; and the Sultan in Perſon appeared early in the Spring upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, with an Army of 292000 Men. So formidable a Power ſeemed likely to ſwallow up *Poland*; but the *Ottoman* Armies are generally more numerous than terrible. *Charles Chotkiewitz*, the General who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the War againſt *Charles* of *Suderland*, advanced towards *Moldavia* to defend the Frontiers. He was attacked by the Infidels, as he lay intrenched upon the Banks of the *Nieſter*, in an advantageous Situation, who, deſpiſing the ſmall Number of his Troops, and encouraged by the Preſence of their Emperor, uſed their utmoſt Efforts to force *Chotkiewitz* in his Lines, but were repulſed with a conſiderable Loſs.

Whilſt the *Poles* reſiſted with ſo much Bravery, their General died on the 27th of *September* at *Choczin*, and *Staniſlaus Lubomirſki* ſupplied his Place.

The Coſſacks join the Poles.

The *Coſſacks*, whoſe Ravages ſerved alſo as a Pretext for the Invaſion of the *Turks*, made haſte to the Succour of *Poland*. The *Tartars* marched to meet them, and ſupported by a Detachment of *Turkiſh*

Turkiſh Foot, fell upon them in their March. The Paſſage was diſputed for about eight Hours, and at laſt carried by the *Coſſacks*, though inferior in Number. They then joined the *Poliſh* Army, and had a great Share in the happy Iſſue of this War.

On the 28th of *September*, *Oſman* gave Orders for a general Attack, and marched himſelf againſt the Lines of the *Poles*. The Action began by Break of Day, and continued till the Night put an End to it. The *Turks*, continually repulſed, returned ten times to the Charge, with that Obſtinacy which is natural to them. At laſt they retreated, leaving 25000 of their Men killed at the Foot of the Intrenchments. They had already loſt in different Attacks above 60000 Men; their Army was daily leſſened by the Sickneſs which raged in it; and their Proviſions began to fail them. Thus the Sultan, loſing all Hope of forcing the Camp, propoſed a Conference, which was accepted; for the two Parties were both equally deſirous of Peace; and if the *Turks* deſpaired of Succeſs, the *Poles* were fatigued and ſtood in need of Refreſhment. It was agreed, that the *Tartars* and *Coſſacks*, who ſhould henceforward commit any Ravages, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: That the Sultan ſhould nominate the Vaivode of *Moldavia*; but that none but a Chriſtian Prince ſhould be capable of enjoying that Principality; and laſtly, that *Poland* ſhould give up *Choczin*. This was the End of a War which alarmed all *Chriſtendom*, and which threatened ſuch fatal Conſequences to *Poland*. *Sigiſmond* gave no other Occaſion for it, than by his aſſiſting the Emperor, who deſerted him at laſt, and even refuſed him Leave to raiſe Forces out of *Germany*.

The Sultan attacks the Camp to no Purpoſe.

A Treaty of Peace.

Charles Duke of *Suderland*, the Uſurper of the Throne of *Sweden*, died in 1611, and was ſuc- 1612.

Guſtavus Adolphus *makes an Irruption into* Livonia.

ceeded by his Son *Guſtavus Adolphus*. This Prince took an Advantage of the Diſtance of the *Poliſh* Troops, to make an Irruption into *Livonia*, where after a Siege of ſix Weeks he took *Riga*. He then marched along the maritime Coaſts of that Province, and carried his Conqueſts as far as *Dantzick*. *Sigiſmond* ought either to have recovered his uſurped Patrimony, or have fallen with it; but too weak or too fearful to ſtand in Competition with a Prince, whoſe Intrepidity and Victories had given him the Title of the *Lion of the North*, he choſe rather to conſent to a Truce, which ended in 1625.

1626. *He conquers* Pruſſia.

Upon the Expiration of this Truce, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, through a Motive of Generoſity and Juſtice, offered to divide with *Sigiſmond* the Title of King of *Sweden*, and conſented that the Crown ſhould paſs to one of his Children. He even promiſed to reſtore *Livonia* to *Poland*, upon Condition that *Sigiſmond* ſhould give up to him *Eſthonia* and *Finland*, which were ſhared betwixt him and *Charles* of *Suderland*. But *Sigiſmond*, carrying his Pretenſions farther, without being in a Condition to ſupport them, indiſcreetly refuſed ſuch advantageous Offers. *Guſtavus* then took the Field with an Army of 25000 Men, landed at *Blow*, and took *Elbing*, *Marienburg*, and ſeveral other Places in *Pruſſia*. *Kaſammark* was the Grave of 3000 *Poles*, and the Engagement fought near that Place ſecured the Conqueſts of *Guſtavus*. But the Battle of *Dantzick* had like to have proved fatal to him. This Prince, who perhaps was as raſh as brave, expoſed himſelf to the Enemies Fire like a common Soldier, and mounted the Breach in Perſon, to force the Intrenchments of the *Poles*, and he would have carried them, had he been leſs expoſed: But a fortunate Blow ſaved *Poland*. *Guſtavus*

ſtavus having received a Muſket Shot, which grazed upon his Shoulder, and obliged him to retire, his Troops, whoſe Strength and Courage ſeemed wholly to depend upon the Preſence of their King, loſt Heart and retreated.

The Battle of *Marienverder* would have been ſtill more fatal to him, if the *Poles* had known how to make a proper Uſe of the Advantages they had gained. *Guſtavus Adolphus* threatened the Empire of *Germany* with an impending Invaſion, and inſiſted upon the Reſtoration of the Proteſtant Princes, who had been depoſed by the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Emperor *Ferdinand* began to be afraid of this young Conqueror, and to ſuſpend the Courſe of ſo impetuous a Torrent, had ſent a Supply of Troops to *Sigiſmond*. The *Poles* and *Germans* united together, got the better of *Guſtavus*, who was far inferior to them in Strength; but their Miſunderſtandings gave him Time to recruit his Army, and revenge his Defeat.

In fine, a new Truce was agreed upon for ſix Years to come, by the Mediation of the Kings of *England* and *France*. This Treaty was entirely in favour of the *Swedes*, who continued in Poſſeſſion of the Towns of *Elbing*, *Memel*, *Braunsberg*, the Fort of *Pillaw*, and all their Conqueſts in *Livonia*. *Sigiſmond* did not live to ſee the Expiration of this Truce. Whilſt all Places were filled with the Sound of *Guſtavus*'s Victories, he, overwhelmed with Cares and Vexations, regretting what he had loſt, and apprehenſive of ſtill greater Loſſes, died in the Neighbourhood of *Warſaw*, ſixty-ſix Years old. 1629. *A ſix Years Truce.* 1632. Sigiſm. III. *dies.*

The Reign of this Prince was attended with very ſingular Events. Choſen by the Lords to ſucceed *Sigiſmond Auguſtus*, *Zamoski*, under his Protection, humbled the Pride of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and *His Character.*

drove his Competitor *Maximilian* from the Throne. Whilſt the Maſter, and quiet Poſſeſſor of an Elective Kingdom, he loſt his own Hereditary Dominions. His Head ſeem'd too weak to ſupport the Weight of two Crowns. His Efforts againſt the Uſurper *Charles* of *Suderland*, were either too weak, or ill-directed. He could neither preſerve his own Patrimony, nor even defend the Provinces of *Poland*. *Livonia*, in part poſſeſſed by the Uſurper, was entirely conquered by *Guſtavus Adolphus*, who farther took from him a Part of *Pruſſia*. *Guſtavus* offer'd him an advantageous Accomodation; but *Sigiſmond*, too much attach'd to his own Sentiments, and refuſing to give up any of his Pretenſions, could not obtain by Force what was freely offer'd, and was only expos'd to greater Loſſes. He had not Skil to make an Advantage of the Revolutions in *Muſcovy*; and when the *Muſcovites*, tired out with the Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, had rais'd his Son *Ladiſlaus* to the Throne of *Ruſſia*, he neither knew how to ſupport him there, or to ſuccour *Moſcow*, or preſerve *Smolenſko*.

This Prince had notwithſtanding great Virtues, and one may venture to ſay, that his very Faults were derived from a good Principle. If he loſt *Sweden*, the Cauſe of it may be aſcribed to his Zeal for the *Roman* Catholic Religion. If the Troubles of *Muſcovy* were of little Service to him, the Reaſon was, that he too early declar'd his Deſign of introducing the Pope's Authority. The Alliance he contracted with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, brought the *Ottoman* Arms into *Poland*, and fomented the War with *Sweden*; but the Shock which the Sects, that divided *Germany*, had given to Religion, made him believe that his Union with the Emperor was neceſſary, for the Maintenance of the Faith of his Anceſtors. And

laſtly,

laſtly, too ſtrict an Equity was the Rule by which he would be guided in the Diſpute he had with *Guſtavus*. He impolitickly did not conſider, that *Guſtavus* had the Affection of the *Swedes* on his Side, and a Crown in Poſſeſſion. He was a King, and he look'd upon him as a Rebel Subject. As he was incapable of doing the leaſt Injuſtice himſelf, he would not ſuffer it in another; and treating *Guſtavus* as an Uſurper, he inſiſted upon his giving up whatever his Father had uſurped from him. Laſtly, one may ſafely affirm, that if he had not reign'd in *Poland*, that Kingdom would not have loſt *Livonia*, and he would have preſerved *Sweden*. He died after having reigned forty Years.

His eldeſt Son *Ladiſlaus* was elected ſome Months after. It was apprehended at firſt, that *Guſtavus*, cover'd with the Laurels he had reap'd in *Germany*, and the Glory of thirty Victories, would have declared himſelf a Candidate; and the Proteſtants, who were very numerous in the Kingdom, earneſtly deſired it; but he was too much taken up with the Care of his Conqueſts, and neglected their Suffrages.

The Queen, who was the ſecond Wife of *Sigiſmond*, made ſome Attempts in favour of *John Cazimir* her Son, to the Prejudice of *Ladiſlaus*, the King's Son by a firſt Marriage. She had endeavoured, in the Life-time of the late King, to form a Party, and get *John Cazimir* declared the Heir of the Crown. Beſides, there were falſe Reports ſpread abroad, that *Ladiſlaus* favour'd the novel Opinions, and the Clergy, upon this Account, at the opening of the Diet, ſhew'd but little Marks of Affection towards that Prince. But *John Cazimir*, through a Greatneſs of Soul perhaps without Example, and leſs jealous of his own riſing than his Mother, who left no Stone unturn'd,

unturn'd, that might contribute to advance him to the Throne, broke all the Princeſs's Meaſures, and put himſelf at the Head of the Lords, who appear'd for his Brother. And thus *Ladiſlaus* was nominated King on the 13th of *November*, without Oppoſition, by the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and then proclaim'd by the Grand Marſhal. He was not crown'd till the Year following.

1634. *A Victory over the Muſcovites, attended with an advantageous Treaty to Poland.*

His coming to the Crown ſtands diſtinguiſhed by a great Victory he gain'd over the *Muſcovites*. They were aſſembled in the Neighbourhood of *Smolensko*, from whence they made Iruptions upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. *Ladiſlaus*, who had learnt the Art of War in his Father's Reign, as well in *Muſcovy* as in *Moldavia*, againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, march'd againſt the *Ruſſians*, drove them into Straits, and oblig'd their whole Army to ſurrender at Diſcretion. The *Turks* made a Diverſion, on the Side of *Moldavia*, in favour of the *Muſcovites*, but to no Purpoſe. When he had conquered them, he march'd againſt the Infidels, and forc'd them to a Retreat. The Baſha, who commanded them, loſt his Head, either for his unskilful Management, or his Aſſurance in acting contrary to Treaty, without the Authority of the Grand Signior. Theſe two Victories obtain'd an advantageous Peace for *Poland*. *Ladiſlaus* continued in Poſſeſſion of the Duchies of *Smolensko* and *Czarnibow*; and the *Turk*, who had made Trial of his Arms, and ſaw that this young Prince could not be attack'd with Impunity, grew afterwards a more religious Obſerver of Treaties.

1635. *Another Treaty with* Chriſtina *Queen of* Sweden.

The War, which the King made ſome Time after with *Sweden*, was no leſs glorious and uſeful to him. The famous *Guſtavus Adolphus*, after having

having conquer'd almoſt all *Germany*, was ſlain at the Battle of *Lutzen*. Expiring in the Arms of Victory, he beat the *Imperialiſts*, or, as other Hiſtorians relate, his Troops, in a Rage for the Death of their Prince, reveng'd it by the entire Defeat of the Enemies Army. After his Death the *Swediſh* Generals ſuſtain'd, for ſome Time, the Glory of his Arms, ſurpriz'd *Leipſick*, took *Schleſtad*, *Colmar*, *Paderborn*, and defeated the *Imperialiſts* near *Hamelen*; but the Battle of *Stenaw*, and particularly that of *Northlingue*, were diſadvantageous to them, and made them loſe a Part of their Conqueſts. They muſt have even fallen under the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if they had not been ſupported by *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*.

In theſe Circumſtances *Sweden*, governed by *Chriſtina* the Daughter of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, was apprehenſive of the Arms of *Ladiſlaus*. With a View to appeaſe this powerful Neighbour, who was preparing to make war upon her, to recover what his Father had loſt, ſhe offer'd a Treaty, as neceſſary to *Sweden* as advantageous to *Poland*. The Truce was continued for ſix and twenty Years; *Pruſſia* was reſtor'd, and the Deciſion of the Claims to the ſeveral Branches of *Livonia* ſuſpended.

The Cauſes of the War with the Coſſacks.

The *Coſſacks* were under the Protection of *Poland*, and defended the Frontiers againſt the Invaſions of *Turks* and *Tartars*. King *Stephen Batori*, who knew the Uſefulneſs of that Militia, had given them Lands, and granted them Privileges for the Security of their Liberty and Religion. But *Ukrania*, which they inhabited, becoming the Refuge of an infinite Number of *Poliſh* Peaſants, who, harraſſed with the Exactions and Drudgery which the Gentry required from them, had joined the *Coſſacks*, and enjoy'd

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with them the like Immunities, certain of the Lords demanded back their Vaſſals; and the *Coſſacks* refuſing to give up thoſe unhappy Wretches, an Attempt was made upon the Privileges of that Nation, and a Scheme laid to reduce them to an equal Slavery with that of the *Poliſh* Peaſants. And hence aroſe that long and cruel War, which reduced the Kingdom to the laſt Brink of Ruin.

The Poles enter Ukrania.

Konielpoſki firſt enter'd *Ukrania* with an armed Force, and raiſed the Fort of *Kudac* upon the Banks of the *Boriſthenes*, to overawe thoſe untractable People into the Obſervance of their Duty. Upon ſight of that Fort, which threaten'd their Liberty, they took up Arms; but their firſt Efforts were unſucceſsful, and they were oblig'd to ſubmit. An Amneſty was granted them; but the Conditions of it were not obſerv'd. *Pauluk* their General, and the Chief of the Nation, were taken up and beheaded, contrary to the Articles agreed upon. Inſtead of withdrawing the Troops that were in their Country, additional Forces were ſent thither; and in a Diet held upon this Occaſion, it was decreed, that all their Privileges ſhould be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, and the Fort of *Tretimirow*, which King *Stephen* had given them, be taken from them.

They are beaten.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the *Poliſh* Army march'd to that Place, with a Deſign to beſiege it; but the Inhabitants of the Country vigorouſly repuls'd them, and oblig'd them to retreat. Yet, without any Deſign of revolting from their Obedience to the King of *Poland*, they meant only to preſerve their Liberty under the Protection of the Prince, whom their Anceſtors had obeyed. Thus, though Conquerors, they offered to ſubmit, provided their Immunities might be confirmed to them, and proteſted, that upon that Condition

Condition they would never ſwerve from the Allegiance they had ſworn. So long as they were in Arms, and the *Poles* were afraid of them, they ſuffered them to be quiet, and fed them with fine Promiſes; but as ſoon as they were return'd to their own Houſes, the *Poliſh* Lords committed a thouſand Outrages in *Ukrania*, ſent Detachments thither to take up Priſoners, took away the *Greek* Churches from the *Coſſacks*, which they had in Poſſeſſion, and by their Injuries drove a Warlike Nation into Extremities, which they ought rather to have ſooth'd, if they had conſider'd the true Intereſt of the Republic.

The *Coſſacks* were headed by a brave General, who was puſh'd on by a Thirſt of Revenge, for the Injuries he had perſonally receiv'd. *Bogdan Kmielniski* was the Man under whoſe Connuct they aſſerted their Liberty, after having ſhaken the Kingdom of *Poland* to its very Foundations. He was originally a Native of *Lithuania*, and his Father coming to reſide in *Ukrania*, he was carried off by the *Tartars*. Redeem'd by his Mother, he return'd into his own Country, where he was almoſt a Stranger, and cultivated the Lands which his Father had left him near *Czebrin*. He afterwards added a Piece of waſte Ground to his paternal Eſtate, and clear'd it of the Buſhes which grew upon it. This inconſiderable Circumſtance was notwithſtanding the Cauſe of the Flame which ſpread itſelf over all *Poland*. In ſhort, *Czaplinski* the Governor of *Czebrin* ſeizing upon the waſte Ground which *Kmielniski* had appropriated to his own Uſe, the latter complain'd of it to *Ladiſlaus*, who adjudging the Lands to the *Poliſh* Officer, allow'd the *Coſſack* but a ſmall Acknowledgment for the Pains he had been at in cultivating them. *Kmielniski* return'd home, com-

1648. *The Origin of Kmielniski General of the Coſſacks.*

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plain'd of the unjuſt Judgment which had been given againſt him, and behav'd ſo roughly towards the King's Lieutenant, that he caus'd him to be taken up, and condemn'd him to be publickly whipp'd. Some Hiſtorians add, that *Czaplinski* ſeiz'd upon his Wife, raviſh'd, and then caus'd both her and her Son to be ſlain. However this be, the *Coſſack* left *Czebrin* in a Rage, and ſheltered himſelf in the Iſlands of the *Boriſthenes*, where he ſtirr'd up the whole Nation to a Revolt, and plac'd himſelf at the Head of their Troops.

Poland was in this Situation, and expos'd to the Dangers of a bloody War, when, as a finiſhing Stroke to its Misfortunes, the King was carried off by an untimely Death. *Ladiſlaus* VI. died without Children at *Merets* in *Lithuania* in the fifty-third Year of his Age, and the 17th of his Reign.

Ladiſlaus dies.

The Irruption of the Coſſacks.

Upon his Death, the Barrier which reſtrain'd the *Coſſacks* was remov'd, and they gave a Looſe to their Fury during the Interregnum. *Knielniski* that plain Country Fellow, ſhew'd a Prudence and Courage capable of doing Honour to the greateſt Generals. He had Skill enough to conquer that inveterate Hatred, which his Nation bore towards the *Tartars*, and made a Treaty with thoſe People, who had ever been at Enmity with *Ukrania*. With them he march'd againſt the Grand General *Potoski*, defeated him in the Neighbourhood of *Korſun*, put to flight a ſecond Army of *Poles* near *Conſtantinow* in *Wolhinia*, and then over-ran *Podolia* and *Ruſſia*. *Leopold* eſcap'd being plunder'd, by paying a Sum of Money for its Ranſom. All the Gentlemen who fell into their Hands were put to the Sword, and they were the happieſt who eſcap'd only with the Loſs of their Eſtates. The Terror of their Arms was

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ſo univerſal, that the Capital of the Kingdom did not think itſelf ſecure, and the Regal Ornaments were remov'd from thence, that they might be preſerv'd from the Incurſions of the Rebels. Their Ravages made vaſt Solitudes of the Provinces, which were formerly ſo well peopled on the Side of *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*, and which remain at this Day almoſt without Inhabitants.

The Diet aſſembled at *Warſaw* grew very much afraid of them; and ſome of the Lords, either more cowardly, or more catious than the reſt, propos'd the Tranſlation of the Aſſembly to *Dantzick*. Theſe Fears were not ill-grounded; and had it not been for a happy Misfortune, they would have doubtleſs been oblig'd to yield to thoſe ſage Remonſtrances. In ſhort, *Kmielniſki* making the beſt Uſe of his Advantages, and advancing as far as *Pilavi*, gain'd another Victory over the *Poles*, and made himſelf Maſter of their Camp, where he found a Booty that was valu'd at ſix Millions. This Loſs was the Safety of *Poland*. The *Tartars* came in with all the Haſte they could, in Expectation of a Share in the Spoils; but as they had not been concern'd in ſharing the Danger, the *Coſſacks* refus'd them their Portion of the Booty; and fearing they ſhould attempt to take it from them by Violence, they withdrew into *Ukrania*. *Diet of Election.*

The Diet then finding themſelves ſecure from Danger, enter'd upon Meaſures to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Rebels, and give an End to a fatal Interregnum. Upon the firſt Head, they order'd freſh Forces to be levied, and to make the Recruits more eaſy; the Clergy contributed one Half of their Revenues. As to the Election, *George Ragotski*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, appear'd as a Candidate at the Head of 30000 Men to ſerve againſt the *Coſſacks*, in caſe he was choſen; or to

join with them, if his Offers were refus'd. The Czar of *Muſcovy* ſpoke in higher Terms, and reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of a Crown by open Force, which he ought to have expected from the free Choice of the Nation. But they laugh'd at the Menaces of theſe two Pretenders, and their Manner of making their Claim cut them off immediately from all Hopes of Succeſs.

John Cazimir, the late King's Brother, had the greateſt Number of Voices; but *Staniſlaus Zaremba* Biſhop of *Kiow*, whoſe Ambition flatter'd him with the Hopes of the Archbiſhoprick of *Gneſna*, rais'd him up a dangerous Competitor. By the Advice of this Prelate, *Charles Ferdinand* Biſhop of *Breſlaw* and *Plosko*, and the youngeſt Son of *Sigiſmond* III. form'd a Faction in Oppoſition to that of *John Cazimir* his Brother. He was at firſt ſupported by *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden*, who ſollicited in his Favour, and ſtrove to put the Crown upon his Head, for this only Reaſon, becauſe he was uncapable of bearing it. *Chriſtina*'s Policy made her afraid of having too able a Prince for her Neighbour.

John Cazimir had been a Jeſuit; and to diſengage him from the Vows he had made in that Society, the Pope had given him a Cardinal's Cap. But this Circumſtance had like to have excluded him the Throne. The Jeſuits, out of Zeal againſt the Goſpellers, had raiſed great Commotions in the laſt Reign, and the Hatred which ſome of the Lords bore to that whole Body, fell heavy upon a Prince, who had once been a Member of it. But what the Biſhop of *Kiow*, and the Proteſtants with whom he join'd, judg'd a ſufficient Reaſon for his Excluſion, was a Motive which engag'd the *Roman* Catholicks, who were fully aſſured of his Piety and Religion, to adhere the more firmly to him, and to urge his Election with the greater Zeal.

The

The Biſhop of *Samogitia* ſpoke in his Behalf with ſo much Force, and remov'd ſo perfectly well all the Suſpicions of Partiality, which the Vows of *Cazimir* had occaſion'd, that he overturn'd at once the Faction of *Charles Ferdinand*, and in an Inſtant brought them over to his Brother's Side. The Sollicitations of the Pope's Nuncio, and the Ambaſſador of *France*, fix'd the greateſt Part of the Deputies. And laſtly, the Queen of *Sweden*, when inform'd of the Engagements which the Biſhop of *Breſlaw* had made with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, declared againſt him. And thus his Competitor was choſen by a general Conſent, on the 20th of *November*, and crown'd the 17th of *January* following. John Cazimir *choſen.*

The War againſt the *Coſſacks* was by no means approv'd of by the new King; and if he might have been heard, a Peace would have been made, and the Fury of thoſe People appeas'd by a Treaty. But the whole Body of the *Poliſh* Nobility were of a different Opinion. Some of them, thro' Motives of Avarice, and the Hopes of bringing the Peaſants into Subjection; and others, under a Pretence of revenging the Injuries offered to the Republic by the Inſurrection of thoſe Robbers, inſiſted upon taking the Field. The King, who was well acquainted with the true Intereſts of the State, was inflexible in his Sentiments; inſomuch that the Nobility, by a Sciſſion which prov'd fatal to them, rais'd Troops of themſelves without the King's Conſent, and march'd into *Ukrania*. 1649. *He diſapproves of the War againſt the* Coſſacks.

Kmielniski had foreſeen the Storm, and prepar'd againſt it. Three hundred and forty thouſand Men march'd under his Standard, and the Cham himſelf was come in Perſon to his Aſſiſtance. What could nine Thouſand *Poles* do againſt ſo formidable an Army? Block'd up in *Zbarras*, they defended *The* Poles *are defeated.*

themſelves there with Courage; and if they had met with Rebels only to encounter, they might have made them give way. But their Proviſions fell ſhort; and the Famine was ſo great amongſt them, that they ate their Horſes, for want of other Victuals. In this Condition, when ready to ſink under the Burden of ſo many Misfortunes, fatigu'd with the Attacks of the Enemy, preſs'd with Hunger, without Force, and ſupported only by their Valour, they implor'd the Aſſiſtance of their King, who, though he diſapprov'd of their Proceeding, thought himſelf oblig'd to fly to their Succour. The Cham and *Kmielniſki* march'd out to meet him with 110000 Men. *Cazimir* had but 20000; but then they were the braveſt Spirits in all *Poland*.

A Treaty of Peace. The *Tartars* attack'd his Camp near *Zborow* to no Purpoſe, for three whole Days together. Their Loſſes made them tractable; and ſome Overtures were offer'd towards an Accommodation. The King promis'd to pay the Cham the Subſidies, or annual Penſions, which formerly were given him, and *Ladiſlaus* VI. had ſuppreſs'd. The *Coſſacks* obtain'd an Act of Indemnity, and the Confirmation of their Privileges. The Number of their Militia was augmented, and the free Exerciſe of the Religion of the *Greek* Church was allow'd throughout all *Ukrania*. The Cham, on his Side, ſwore to look after the Frontiers of *Poland*, and defend them in caſe of Neceſſity; and *Kmielniſki* likewiſe promis'd that the *Coſſacks* ſhould keep firmly to the Allegiance they ow'd the Republic.

1651. *The War renew'd.* But this Peace was of no long Continuance. The Peaſants, who did not make Part of the Militia, would not ſubmit to their Lords, nor allow them to take Poſſeſſion again of their Eſtates.

Eſtates. They learnt beſides, that their General *Kmielniſki* had apply'd to the Sultan, and ſought to form under his Protection an independent Principality in *Ukrania*, and along the Banks of the *Boryſthenes*.

John Cazimir, upon Information that the *Coſſacks*, whoſe Cauſe he firſt thought to be juſt, were diſpos'd to revolt, then judg'd that the whole Republic was intereſted in the War. He therefore rais'd an Army of 100000 Men, and routed at once 300000 *Tartars* near *Bereteſkow*. Some few Days after a panic Fright ſeiz'd upon the *Coſſacks*, and threw them into Diſorder. *Bohun Kmielniſki*'s Lieutenant, marching out of his Camp with a Detachment of the antient Militia, to fall upon the Palatine of *Braclaw*, who appear'd with a Body of 2000 Men, the whole Tabor in a Conſternation, thought their General was about to deſert them, and took to their Heels in the utmoſt Confuſion.

Aſtoniſh'd with this Loſs, the *Coſſacks* deſired a Peace, and obtain'd it. *Kmielniſki* likewiſe obtain'd Pardon for his Rebellion; but the *Zaporovian* Militia was reduc'd to 20000 Men. This Treaty ſubſiſted no longer, than till the perfidious *Coſſack* thought himſelf in a Condition to break it with Safety.

In ſhort, the *Muſcovites* ſeeing the *Poles* engag'd with their Rebel Subjects, and embaraſs'd enough with repelling their Attacks, took an Advantage from that troubleſome Circumſtance, and enter'd *Lithuania* on the Side of *Smolenſko*. *Kmielniſki* immediately detach'd a Body of the Troops under his Command, with Orders to join the *Ruſſians*, who gain'd from thence a conſiderable Benefit, whilſt another Body of *Coſſacks* and *Tartars* ravag'd *Poland* on the oppoſite Side.

1655. *War with* Charles Guſtavus *King of* Sweden.

Chriſtina Queen of *Sweden*, the Daughter of the great *Guſtavus*, had abdicated the Crown, and plac'd it upon the Head of her Couſin *Charles Guſtavus*. He was ſcarce upon the Throne before he became an Enemy to the Republic of *Poland*, and gave the finiſhing Stroke to the Miſeries of that Kingdom, which was already torn to pieces by innumerable Armies of Rebels and Robbers. Certain diſcontented Lords call'd in *Charles Guſtavus* to ſupport their Faction, and introduc'd a Fire into their Country, which narrowly eſcap'd conſuming it. 'Twas in vain that *France* interpos'd its Mediation to bring Matters to an Accommodation; the King of *Sweden*, jealous of the Glory of the great *Guſtavus*, and deſirous to efface it, if poſſible, had laid a Scheme for the Conqueſt of *Poland*, and found Pretences enough for declaring War againſt it.

He conquers the greateſt Part of Poland.

He therefore enter'd the Kingdom, and was join'd by the Malcontents, who enlarg'd his Army already made up of excellent Soldiers. He preſently became Maſter of *Great Poland*, and ſubdu'd all *Mazovia*. *Cracow* was beſieg'd, and made but a weak Defence. The Conqueror enters the Capital of the Kingdom, and compels the unfortunate *Cazimir*, who was without Troops, without Money, deſerted both by the Nobility and Army, to ſeek an *Aſylum* in *Sileſia*. *Charles* then paſſes into *Pruſſia*, and meets with ſo little Oppoſition, that he ſeemed to march thro' an open Country already ſubject to his Dominion. *Dantzick* alone, encouraged by the lively Exhortations of ſome of its Preachers, continued faithful to its Prince, and ſhut the Gates againſt the *Swedes*.

The other Towns, animated by the Example of *Dantzick*, ſtood amaz'd at the prodigious Succeſs of the *Swediſh* Arms, and to ſee themſelves

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all at once ſubjected to a foreign Yoke. The Contributions exacted by *Charles Guſtavus*, and an Impoſition of fifteen *Timphes* upon every Chimney, raiſed a general Revolt in a free Nation, which was ever averſe to Tyranny and Bondage. They could not conſent to become tributary to the *Swedes*, and took the brave and noble Reſolution of ſhaking off their Chains. The Nobility join'd together, and rais'd an Army. *Cazimir* puts himſelf at their Head, and by his Preſence excites that natural Affection the *Poles* bear to their Prince, and the Hatred which always follows the Perſon of an Uſurper. In this firſt Heat, their General *Czarneſki* ſurpriz'd the *Swediſh* Troops near *Jaroſlaw*, defeated them, and became Maſter of their Baggage. They were next driven out of *Warſaw*. Fortune began to declare in favour of an unhappy People, when an unlucky Accident had like to have plung'd them again into freſh Misfortunes.

Charles Guſtavus, having made a Treaty with the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Elector ſhould enjoy an abſolute Power in *Ducal Pruſſia*, his Subjects join'd with their new Ally, and the *Swedes*, ſtrengthen'd by this additional Force, march'd ſtraight to *Warſaw*, with Deſign to recover it. The *Poles* did all that was poſſible to preſerve that City; the Conteſt laſted three Days, and the Bravery of the Defenders kept the Victory a long Time in Suſpence, which inclin'd to the Side of *Sweden*. *Charles* carried it at laſt; and the Slaughter was the more dreadful, as the Conqueſt was ſo long diſputed. *Warſaw* became the Prize of the Victory.

The Poles defeated near Warſaw.

Another Enemy appear'd about the ſame Time. 1657.
Ragotſki, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, had long medi- *Ragotſki* enters Poland.
tated

tated Revenge for his Excluſion from the Throne, upon the laſt Election. He therefore declar'd for the *Swedes*, and flatter'd himſelf, that in the low Eſtate of the Republic, he might be able to dethrone *Cazimir*, and raiſe himſelf upon its Ruins. *Ragotſki* had an Army of 30000 Men, and 'tis poſſible his ambitious Projects might have ſucceeded, if he would have follow'd the Counſels of the King of *Sweden*, who had adviſed him to enter *Poland* by the Palatinate of *Breſſici*, where all would have been favourable to him, and wait for the coming up of the *Swedes*. But *Ragotſki*, blinded by the Promiſes of *Dabricius* an Aſtrologer, who had flattered him with the Hope of a certain Conqueſt, thought, that on whatever Side he ſhould enter *Poland*, he ſhould ſtill be victorious.

The ſad State of the Kingdom.

Every Thing ſeem'd to conſpire to the Detriment of this Republic, which, though formerly in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, appear'd then to be upon the Brink of Ruin. The King of *Sweden* had ſcarce any thing left to conquer. *Pruſſia*, the greater *Poland*, *Cracow*, *Warſaw*, the two principal Cities of the State, were ſubject to him. The *Muſcovite* was Maſter of *Vilna*, and almoſt all *Lithuania*; and though he oppos'd the *Swedes* indeed in *Livonia*, yet he was ſtill an Enemy to the *Poles*, and fortified himſelf upon their Frontiers. *Ragotski* attempted to raiſe himſelf to the Throne by an armed Force, and to raviſh from the Nation that Liberty they had always claim'd of chuſing their Kings. Laſtly, the *Tartars* and *Coſſacks*, whoſe Ravages are ever attended with the moſt horrible Cruelties, thoſe Robbers, who carry off both Men and Goods, and whoſe Footſteps are ever mark'd with Traces of Blood and Fire, were the leaſt of their Enemies.

'Twas

'Twas to theſe very Miſeries themſelves that *Poland* ow'd its Preſervation from an intire Ruin, as its Calamities rais'd them up Avengers. The whole North in Amaze trembled for their Liberty, and thought they had ſeen a ſecond *Guſtavus Adolphus* in *Charles*. *Denmark* was the firſt that appear'd to oppoſe the Progreſs of ſo formidable a Power. *Muſcovy* join'd with him; the *Imperialiſts* increas'd the Army of *Lubormiſki*, and the *Dutch* ſent a Squadron into the *Baltic*, to preſerve *Dantzick*. *Denmark and Holland declare War againſt Charles Guſtavus.*

Ragotſki was preſently put out of a Condition of fighting. The *Walachians* and *Moldavians* deſerted him by the expreſs Order of the Sultan, who diſapprov'd of this Enterprize of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*. After this Deſertion, it was eaſy for the *Poles* to defeat him. He was beaten near *Sendomir*, where he attempted to paſs the *Viſtula*, and loſt in his March, and the Battle, 14000 of his Men, with all his Artillery. They then came to a Treaty, and it was agreed, that *Ragotſki* ſhould aſk Pardon of the King of *Poland*, that he ſhould break the Engagement he had made with the King of *Sweden*, and furniſh a certain Number of Troops, whenever it was required of him. But this Defeat, and this diſhonourable Treaty, were not the End of his Misfortunes. The Sultan, enrag'd that he ſhould enter *Poland* againſt the expreſs Orders of the *Porte*, enjoin'd the *Tranſilvanians* to make Choice of another Vaivode. 'Twas in vain he implor'd the Succour of the Emperor; after ſeveral Engagements with his Competitors, he was beaten by the *Turks* near *Hermſtad*, and ſoon after died of his Wounds. Ragotſki *defeated.*

Charles Guſtavus was almoſt as unfortunate. *Frederic*, King of *Denmark*, having declared War againſt him, made ſo powerful a Diverſion in 1658. *The King of Sweden defeated.*

in favour of *Poland*, that he oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to deſiſt from his Project, in order to defend his own Dominions. *Charles Guſtavus* had indeed very great Advantages in the Beginning of this War. That Prince, whoſe Courage might have been term'd Raſhneſs, if Succeſs had not juſtified his Actions, encounter'd the Depths of the Sea, which might have opened under his Feet, and lead his Army acroſs the Ice into *Zealand*, to lay Siege to *Copenhagen*. Peace was then made to the Diſadvantage of *Frederic*; but it did not laſt long. By this Treaty the two Kings were to ſhut up the Mouth of the *Baltic*, and not ſuffer any foreign Veſſels to paſs through it. The King of *Denmark*, at the Solſicitation of the *Dutch*, who promiſed him a powerful Aſſiſtance, refus'd to obſerve this Article; and upon this Pretext the War was renew'd.

The *Dutch* kept their Word with *Frederic*, and thoſe two Powers united together, at laſt humbled the Pride of the haughty *Charles Guſtavus*. The *Dutch* Fleet beat Admiral *Wrangel* at the
1659. Mouth of the *Sound*, who preſum'd not any longer to keep the Sea, but retired into his Ports. The *Swedes* at laſt, after having been repuls'd before *Copenhagen*, were defeated in the Iſle of *Funen*, and oblig'd to ſue for Peace. This was a finiſhing Stroke to the King of *Sweden*. He, who till then had been a Conqueror, and given Laws to all his Neighbours, and was now conquer'd and oblig'd to receive it from them, could not ſurvive the Defeat. The Sickneſs of which he died, was imputed to the Vexation which this Turn of Fortune had given him. The Rival of the great *Guſtavus*, but leſs fortunate, though poſſeſs'd perhaps of equal Courage and Ability.

John

John Cazimir in the mean time had recover'd almoſt all the Places which *Charles Guſtavus* had taken from him. *Cracow* and its Citadel were reduc'd to the Obedience of their natural Prince in 1657. Soon after, the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had join'd with his Neighbours, and concluded a League, Offenſive and Defenſive, againſt the *Swedes* his former Allies. Laſtly, *Thorn* and the greateſt Part of *Pruſſia* had ſhook off the Yoke: and a Treaty concluded this Year with *Sweden*, had put *Cazimir* again into Poſſeſſion of all the reſt. *Charles* XI. the Son and Succeſſor of *Charles Guſtavus*, gave back all the Conqueſts his Father had made; and *Cazimir*, on his Side, renounced all Claim to the Crown of *Sweden*. However well grounded his Pretenſions were, they were become uſeleſs; and by parting with nothing real, he gain'd a great deal. 1660. John Cazimir *recovers the Places conquered by the* Swedes.

As ſoon as the *Poles* were freed from any Apprehenſion of the *Swediſh* Arms, they thought of revenging the Injuries they had ſuffered from the *Muſcovites*. *Czarneſki* and *Sapieha* cut off 26000 of them not far from *Polanski*. Ten Thouſand more periſh'd in the Plains of *Glembokia*, which were left upon the Field of Battle. *Cazimir* then beſieg'd *Vilna*, the Capital of *Lithuania*, which the *Ruſſians* had conquered. The City was eaſily carried; but the Caſtle made a ſtout Reſiſtance. *The* Muſcovites *defeated.*

This Siege was equally fatal to *Cazimir* and the *Poles*, by the Diviſion which aroſe between the King and his Subjects. A Part of the Army revolted, and choſe Prince *Lubormiſki* for their General. Theſe Miſunderſtandings delay'd the Attacks, and made the Siege more long and bloody. Peace was not made with the Czar till ſome Years after.

1665. *Divisions between the King and the Nobility.*

The Divisions, which had lately broke out, were carried on to such Extremities, that the Republic soon saw two opposite Parties within its own Bosom ready to rend it in Pieces. *Casimir* rais'd Troops; and the Rebels and *Lubormiski* arm'd on their Side. The *Poles* were upon the Point of coming to Blows, when the principal Heads of the revolting Party, repenting of what they had done, threw themselves at the King's Feet, and beg'd his Pardon; but these Submissions were not sincere. The Nobility forgot the Respect they ow'd to the sacred Person of the Prince, who govern'd them; and *Cazimir*, unable to support the Weight of so many Cares, and naturally inclin'd to Repose, abdicated the Crown in the Diet of *Warsaw*, and retired the next Year into *France*, where King *Lewis* XIV. gave him the Abbey of St. *Germain des Prés*. He died at *Revers* in 1672.

1668. Cazimir's *Abdication. His Character.*

This Prince, who was mild, affable and polite, but irresolute in his Designs, fearful, and almost constantly unfortunate, liv'd to see his Neighbours in Arms, and his Subjects in Rebellion against him. When *Charles Gustavus* entred *Poland*, *John Cazimir* fled into *Silesia*. His Character was shewn still more in the Revolt of *Lubormiski*. 'Tis always a Reproach upon a Prince to resign a Crown, unless the Abdication appears to be altogether voluntary. To pass a right Judgment upon this Fact, it may not be amiss to see what Sentiments the *Poles* had of it then. "Why, says *Cazimir Zawardski*, the Starost of *Culm*, in his secret History, "Why did *John Cazimir* renounce "the Sceptre, which he had before so earnestly "sought after? *Poland* stood in Amaze at the "View of such a Step, as seem'd to point out the

" the Funeral of its Liberties. It looked as if " the King had foreſeen the Fall of the *Poliſh* " Empire, and retired, leſt he ſhould be over- " whelmed in its Ruins. This diſhonourable " Apprehenſion was urged as the Cauſe of his " Retreat. He was in a Condition to ſupport the " Cares of the Government, as he was ſtill ſen- " ſible of Pleaſures. It ſeemed as if he looked " upon his Subjects as his Enemies, and that he " fled like a conquered Prince, driven out of " his Dominions."

The Abdication of *Cazimir*, producing an *Interregnum*, the Nobility took up Arms, and came by Squadrons into the Field of Election. But this Precaution, which they had uſed only to prevent caballing, had like to have been fatal to them; for, carried away by the impetuous Caprice of different Factions, they roſe againſt the Senate, and were ſeen to turn thoſe very Arms againſt the principal Lords, which they had taken up to defend the Liberty of their Suffrages. *The Poſpolite meets to elect a King.*

Staniſlaus Praſmouſki, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and Primate, fixed the Opening of the General Diet to the ſecond of *May*. The Great Duke of *Muſcovy* firſt demanded the Crown for his eldeſt Son. An Army of 80000 Men waited for the Anſwer of the *Poles* upon the Frontiers, and were ready to fall upon them, if they did not elect the Prince of *Ruſſia*. In caſe of his Election, the Czar promiſed to reſtore *Kiow* and all the other Towns he had conquered; to maintain an Army of 20000 Men for the Service of the Republic, and to pay ten Millions into the Treaſury. Theſe fine Promiſes had little Effect upon the *Poles*; the Menaces which came along with them, made a greater Impreſſion. As they were not in a Condition to reſiſt, they had Recourſe to Diſſimula- 1669. *Cabals of the ſeveral Pretenders to the Crown.*

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tion. *Pac*, High Chancellor of *Lithuania*, aſſured the Czar of the good Will and Inclination of the *Poles* towards the Prince his Son, and gave him Hopes that he would be elected, provided he could reſolve to renounce the *Greek* Church.

The Czar, who was more guided by his Ambition, than influenced by his Religion, ſoon removed that Obſtacle, and the *Muſcovite* Biſhops declared, that as the Intention of the Candidate in contending for the Crown of *Poland*, was only that he might be able to ſtrike a greater Terror into the common Enemy of all Chriſtendom, he might lawfully conform to the *Latin* Church.

Thus the *Poles*, in Apprehenſion of a Rupture, which might have been of bad Conſequence to them, ſtrove to gain Time, and allured the Czar with ſpecious Promiſes, without meaning to keep any one of them.

The Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Newburg*, and Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, appeared upon the Liſt, and each of theſe three Competitors had their ſeveral Factions. *Oborſki* Staroſt of *Warſaw* ſupported the Intereſt of the Prince of *Condé*, and his Faction flattered themſelves they ſhould carry it before all the reſt. But on the twenty-eighth of *May*, the Standard-Bearer of the Palatinate of *Sendomir*, of the Faction of the *Piaſtes*, having obtained Leave to ſpeak, broke out into a ſevere Invective againſt *Oborſki*, and charged him with betraying the Liberty of the Nation, and ſelling his Voice. They even produced Letters, by which it appeared, that on the twenty-fifth of the ſame Month, the Primate and twelve Lords, whom they called the vile Slaves of the *French* Ambition, had held a private Meeting, in favour of the Prince of *Condé*, and that the Senate meant to carry the Election, to the Prejudice of the Gentlemen of an inferior Rank.

cluſion of Prince of ndé.

Upon

Upon reading theſe Letters, the whole Aſſembly broke out into a Rage; they raiſed their Sabres, and with threatning Voices demanded the Trial of *Oborſki*. That Lord, in a terrible Fright, turned pale, and attempted to make his Eſcape; but they kept him there againſt his Inclination, and obliged him to ſwear that he would no longer adhere to the Party of the *French* Prince, but declare that he looked upon him as incapable of wearing the Crown.

Some few Days after, the Nobility require the Primate to pronounce the Excluſion of the Prince of *Condé*. The whole Senate was in a Conſternation at ſuch a Propoſal. But the Primate thought to elude it, by ſaying, that if the Nobility expected a Deciſion of the whole Senate, they muſt be called together; but if they aſked only for his particular Declaration, he was ready to conſent to the Election of any Perſon who ſhould have the Suffrages of the whole Nation. The Biſhop of *Warmia*, the Palatines of *Kiow*, *Culm*, and *Pomerania* appeared to be of the ſame Sentiments with the Primate, and the Grand Marſhal of the Crown ſaid aloud, That if the Nobility took upon them to proſcribe ſo tumultuouſly a Candidate of ſo high a Character, he would quit his Poſt and retire.

The Reſolution of theſe Lords did not appeaſe the Tumult: The Primate, forced by the Cries and Menaces of the meaner Gentlemen, who were moſt of them Perſons of no Diſtinction, but jealous of their Privileges, and capable of defending them by Violence, ſaid at laſt, *I exclude him then, ſince they will have it ſo.* Compelled to quit the Party of the Prince of *Condé*, but preſerving ſtill a ſtrong Inclination towards him, he could not pronounce his Name in that fatal Judgment. Thus were all the Hopes of the *French* Prince

Prince cut off at once, and no one durſt afterwards attempt to do any thing in his favour.

The Cabal of the Duke of Newburg. The Diet growing more calm, then gave Audience to the Emperor's Ambaſſador. This Miniſter ſpoke in behalf of *Philip William* Duke of *Newburg*, and deſired the *Poles* to ſhew a proper Regard to the Merit of that Prince. The Envoy of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* joined with him, and the King of *England* wrote likewiſe to the Republic in his favour. As to the Candidate himſelf, he made prodigious Promiſes; but as they ſurpaſſed his Abilities, it was thought he neither could, nor even ever deſigned to perform them. Beſides, tho' his Merit was great, he was a *German*, and of a Nation by no means agreeable to the *Poles*; and the Emperor's Recommendation was rather diſſerviceable than beneficial to him. It is likewiſe ſaid, that though the Imperial Miniſter propoſed him as a Candidate, and publickly eſpouſed his Intereſt, yet he privately recommended *Charles* of *Lorraine*.

And of Charles of Lorraine. The old Duke exhauſted his Treaſures, and beſtowed them very profuſely among the greedy *Poles*. They fed him with fair Promiſes, and ſo long as his Money laſted, his Cabal was conſiderable, and had even the upper hand of the Duke of *Newburg*'s; but when that Source was drained, his Party ſunk, and gave way to the Faction of the *Piaſtes*.

The Faction of the Piaſtes. They attack the Senate. The Nobility, impatient at the Length of the Diet, and ſuſpecting the Senate, murmured in every Quarter. The principal Lords narrowly eſcaped being torn to pieces by the Rage of the Multitude. The Soldiers, who guarded the Doors of the *Colo*, diſcharged their Muſquets into the Place of Election, and the Shot fell among the Biſhops and Palatines. To avoid the Danger, ſome hid themſelves under their Seats, and others took

took to their Heels. The Biſhop of *Ploſko*, *Leczinſki*, and the Caſtellan of *Poſnania*, got off with Difficulty: Two other Lords were ſlain; a third was ſhot through the Hand. The Seditious followed after thoſe who left the *Colo*, and treated them very roughly: The whole Senate was diſperſed, and in the utmoſt Danger.

Opalinſki Palatine of *Kaliſch* appeaſed this Diſorder. Having called the Gentlemen together, he addreſſed himſelf to them to this Effect. "To "what end, ſays he, ſhould we thus fall foul "upon one another, for Princes we are ſo little "acquainted with? After they are choſen, will "they think themſelves obliged to us for our "Suffrages, or take any Notice of thoſe, whoſe "Voices have raiſed them to the Throne? Let us "rather conſider our true Intereſt, and with-"out devouring one another, let us chuſe out "from amongſt ourſelves a Man, worthy to "command over the whole Nation. Have we "no Members of the Republic, who are capable "of governing it? Or can we, without Diſhonour, "ſeek for Kings amongſt Foreigners, as if we "could find none deſerving amongſt ourſelves?" *Opalinſki propoſes a Piaſte.*

Thoſe who had a Mind to get all they could, before they proceeded to an Election, oppoſed *Opalinſki*. Amongſt others, the Palatinate of *Podolia* demanded, that they ſhould firſt provide for the Security of *Kaminiec*; but their Remonſtrances were not regarded. One and twenty Palatinates declared for a *Piaſte*, and nominated ſome few Days after *Michael Coribut Wieſnowiſki*. The greateſt Oppoſition was from the *Lithuanians*, who had no Share in that Choice; but the Blood of one of their Deputies, who was cut to pieces before their Eyes, impoſed Silence upon the reſt, and all concurred to the Proclamation of the Prince elected. *The tumultuous Election of* Michael Coribut Wieſnowiſki.

Wieſnowiſki

His Character. *Wiesnowiski* was scarce known before his Promotion. His Father had lost 600000 Livres a Year in the War with the *Cossacks*, and the Son had long subsisted upon the Liberality of the late King. He was indeed of the Family of *Jagellon*, and descended from *Coribut* the Brother of that Prince; but he had done nothing which was answerable to his high Birth. Upon the News of his Election, he protested, that he had not Abilities to bear the Burden they had laid upon him, and did all he could to decline it; commendable in this, that he was acquainted with his own Weakness, and made no Scruple to avow it. If he was surprized at his Advancement to the Throne, the *Poles* were soon no less astonished to see themselves governed by such a Prince; nor could they conceive how it was they came to elect him. The Republic was never reduced so near to the Brinks of an absolute Ruin, as under his Administration, and they more than once talked of deposing him.

1671. The Cossacks again take up Arms. The Great Duke of *Muscovy* had asked the Crown for his Son, as we have already observed; but finding himself disappointed, he studied Revenge, and revived the Rage of the *Cossacks*. *Dorozenski* their new General, was of himself sufficiently inclined to War, and hoped to form a Principality for himself, by means of these Troubles. He therefore took a Journey to *Constantinople*, offered *Ukrania* to the Sultan, and promised to introduce *Turkish* Garisons into the strongest Places of the Province, provided he would confer the Principality of it upon him, and support him against the Arms of *Poland*. His Offers were accepted, and the Basha *Koproli* gave Orders to the *Tartars* to join with the *Cossacks*, and begin their

their Ravages, which are the uſual Forerunners of the *Ottoman* Armies.

They advanced the next Year towards *Podolia*, and laid Siege to *Kaminiec*, the ſole Place belonging to *Poland* in that Quarter, that was conſiderable for its Fortifications; and the Infidels made themſelves Maſters of it in nine Days. This Conqueſt threw the whole Kingdom into a Conſternation. The Country was open, and without Defence, and the Enemy might march to the Centre. *Wieſnowiſki*, to get rid of them, gave up *Podolia* to the *Coſſacks*, and promiſed to pay the Sultan a Tribute of 22000 Ducats. 1672. *The Turks become Maſters of* Kaminiec *and* Podolia.

But this ſhameful Treaty was not obſerved. *John Sobieſki*, the Grand Marſhal of the Crown, ſoon revenged his Country, and brought down the Pride of the Infidels. The Baſha *Huſſain* was intrenched near *Choczin*, and threatened the Kingdom with an immediate Invaſion. He had already prepared Chains for the *Poles*, and propoſed to fix the *Ottoman* Standards upon the Walls of *Cracow*, before the End of the Campaign; but finding that the Hoſpodar or Vaivode of *Moldavia* had not joined him with as many Troops, or as good as he expected, he broke out into a Paſſion, abuſed him bitterly, and at laſt ſtruck him upon the Head with an Ax, and wounded him. The *Moldavian*, enraged at this Affront, draws over the Vaivode of *Walachia*, to engage in his Quarrel, and theſe two Princes agree to revenge themſelves by Treachery, and inform *Sobieſki* how they were diſpoſed. The *Poliſh* General preſents himſelf before the *Turkiſh* Camp, and is admitted into it by the two Vaivodes, who join with him. But notwithſtanding their Deſertion, the Infidels maintain the Fight for four Hours. At laſt they are forced to yield, and of the 35000 Men, which 1673. *Sobieſki's Victory over the Infidels.*

compoſed their Army, there were ſcarce left 1500. And yet, all the Benefit that was reaped from this Victory, was the Conqueſt of *Choczin*. The *Poles*, loaden with an immenſe Booty, were deſirous to ſecure it, and retired for fear of loſing it. They might have recovered *Kaminiec*, or fallen upon the Baſha *Kaplam* with Advantage, who was with the *Aſiatic* Troops under the Canon of *Czezowa*; but the Chriſtian Army neglected to make a proper Uſe of that fortunate Circumſtance, and disbanded, notwithſtanding all the Orders and Care of the General to the contrary. King *Michael Wieſnowiſki* died on the ſame Day this Battle was fought, not much regretted by his Subjects.

King Michael dies.

Interregnum.

His Death revived the Hopes of moſt of the Candidates, who had already ſtood at the Time of his Election, and gave place to ſome other Pretenſions. The Diet began on the 20th of *April*, and the Competitors were the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Newburg*, and Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*; and laſt of all, *Sobieſki* appeared in favour of a Prince of *France*, whoſe Name was kept a Secret. All theſe Pretenders were admitted; their Propoſals were heard, and not one of them was excluded.

The Diet for the Election.

Faction of the Czar.

The Czar, notwithſtanding the Unſucceſsfulneſs of his former Attempts, offered the *Poles* his ſecond Son, a Youth of between thirteen and fourteen Years of Age. His Demand was expreſſed in humbler Terms than at the preceding Diet; and if he promiſed leſs, his Menaces were leſs alſo. But no farther Regard was paid to them, than might reaſonably be expected from good Manners, and the Apprehenſion of diſobliging ſo powerful a Neighbour.

The

The Elector of *Brandenbourg* propoſed the Electoral Prince his Son, and promiſed that he ſhould embrace the *Romiſh* Religion, in caſe he was choſen: But his Party was ſmall. As he was a *German* by Nation, he was not beloved; and as a Proteſtant by Religion, it was apprehended that a Converſion for the ſake of a Crown might not be ſincere; and ſuch a Prince might pro e dangerous. The Elector ſoon perceived how the *Poles* ſtood affected towards his Son, and preſently dropt the Deſign. *Of the Elector of* Brandenbourg.

Michael Abaffi Vaivode of *Tranſilvania*, beſides fifteen Millions, offered to unite his Principality to the Crown, and to maintain an Army of fifteen thouſand Men, for the Service of the Republic, whilſt at War with the *Turk:* But theſe Offers were beyond the Power of the *Tranſilvanian*, and impoſſible ever to be executed. *Of the Prince of* Tranſilvania.

Prince *George* of *Denmark* was ſupported by the King his Brother, who offered three Millions, and the Maintenance of ſix thouſand Horſe. He was oppoſed by *Sweden*, which acted ſo powerfully againſt him, that his Faction, which was always inconſiderable, was ſoon loſt in the reſt. *Of Prince* George *of* Denmark.

The moſt mighty of the Competitors were the Duke of *Newburg*, and *Charles* of *Lorrain*. The firſt of theſe Princes ſollicited for his eldeſt Son, and offered at the ſame time a King to *Poland*, and an Husband to the Queen, the Widow of *Michael Coribut Wieſnowiſki*. The *Poles* were inclined towards him; but he found a powerful Adverſary in the Prince of *Lorrain*. The Queen was in love with *Charles*, and pawned her very Jewels, to buy him Votes. *Pac* the Chancellor of *Lithuania*, and all the Deputies of the Duchy, were devoted to him; beſides, the perſonal Merit of the Prince of *Lorrain*, had gained him a great Number of Followers. He advanced as far as *Of the Dukes of* Newburg *and* Lorrain.

Sileſia, to encourage his Faction, and ſuccour them in caſe of Need.

Of John Sobieski.

John Sobieſki Grand Marſhal of the Crown, had declared, as I have already obſerved, for a Prince of *France*. Crowned with the Laurels he had lately gained in the Battle of *Choczin*, and beloved by the Army, he had Power and Credit enough to create a King, without nominating the Candidate, whoſe Intereſt he eſpouſed; he only gave the Character and Deſcription of him, and under the borrowed Lines of the pretended Prince for whom he ſollicited, he evidently drew his own Picture. He publickly aſked for a Prince of the Blood of *France*, whilſt underhand and in private, to reſerve in a manner the Liberty of giving himſelf his own Vote, he ſtrove all he could to ſet the Crown upon his own Head.

In the mean time, the Factions of *Newburg* and *Lorrain*, promoted by different Intereſts, gave Cauſe to apprehend a double Election. The Senate, devoted to the *German* Prince, diſpatched the Biſhop of *Cracow* and ſome other Prelates to the Queen, to engage her to forget the Prince of *Lorrain*, and to offer her the Crown, and the Prince of *Newburg* for an Husband. But the Queen continued inflexible, and remaining conſtant to her Lover, took upon her to make him a King. The *Lithuanians* ſwore to be faithful to him, and to die rather than deſert his Party. The *Poles*, on the other hand, provoked at the Princeſs's Refuſal, grew more fixed in their Reſolution; and the more Conſtancy they ſaw in the oppoſite Faction, the more firmly they adhered to their own Candidate.

The Palatine of Ruſſia's *Speech in favour of* Sobieſki.

In this Situation of Affairs, and under the Apprehenſion of an enſuing Sciſſion, *Sobieſki* ſet his Friends to work. He had privately carried on his Deſign, that he might be out of the Reach

of

of Envy, and did not lay open his Purpoſe, till he ſaw the Diſcovery was like to be attended with Succeſs. The Palatine of *Ruſſia* addreſſed the Aſſembly to this Purpoſe: "The Republic "(ſays he) is in extreme Danger, and threatened "with all the Horrors of a Civil War; and yet "what are the Objects of ſo fatal a Diviſion? "The Queen, on the one ſide, devoted to "*Charles* of *Lorrain*, does not approve the Prince "of *Newburg* for a Husband; and thus the Ca- "price of a Woman is to ſet us in Arms one "againſt another. On the other hand, we are "divided in the Cauſe of a *German*, whoſe "Country alone ſhould be a ſufficient Motive "for our refuſing him. Thus we ſacrifice our- "ſelves for a Stranger, and one who is little "known to us. Let us ceaſe theſe Diviſions, "which are founded on ſuch frivolous Cauſes, "and yet muſt prove ſo fatal in their Conſe- "quence. Let us equally ſet aſide the two Com- "petitors, who are no otherwiſe conſiderable "than by the Cabals they have found Means to "form, and let the true Intereſt of the Kingdom "influence and direct our Suffrages. What kind "of a Head does the Republic ſtand in need of? "An Hero, who has Courage enough to con- "quer, and Wiſdom to govern us in Peace. "And why ſhould we ſeek for him out of *Po-* "*land?* We have amongſt ourſelves that Great "Man, who deſerves to command us. You all "know him, and have oft admired his Courage "and Prudence. His Victories, and his Virtues, "point him out to you plain enough. The con- "quered *Turks*, and the *Coſſacks* brought under "Subjection, ſollicit you in his favour. The "Security of your Frontiers againſt the Inva- "ſions of your Enemies; the Tranquillity en- "joyed in the Heart of your Kingdom; the Con-

" queſt of *Choczin*, theſe are Claims, which ſhould
" carry your Voices. You ſee by theſe Circum-
" ſtances that I propoſe *Sobieſki*. Beſides his great
" Virtues, you owe a Recompence to his Ser-
" vices. After having ſaved the State, can you
" refuſe him the Government of it? "

ieſki
en.

Upon naming this Candidate, thoſe who were before prepared, roſe up, and gave him their Suffrages aloud. The Palatinates of *Ruſſia* declared for him, and were followed by that of *Crakow*. The reſt of *Poland* was drawn after them, and either through Fear, Inclination, or Example, almoſt all the Aſſembly in an Inſtant nominated the Grand Marſhal to the Throne.

The *Lithuanians* oppoſed this Choice, and entered their Proteſtations. Certain Senators were diſpatched to bring them back to the *Colo*; and their Remonſtrances ſo far prevailed, that the next Morning the Diſſentients joined the Body of the Nation, and the Proclamation was made in their Preſence, with an unanimous Conſent.

It is ſaid, that Mr. *de Fourbin de Janſon*, then Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, and Ambaſſador of *France* into *Poland*, had a great Share in the Advancement of *Sobieſki*. His Inſtructions were, to exclude the Prince of *Lorrain*, with whom *France* had great Reaſon to be diſſatisfied. This Miniſter firſt eſpouſed the Cauſe of the Prince of *Newburg*; but finding that he was no more likely to ſucceed than his Competitor, the ſagacious Prelate privately joined himſelf to the Party of *Sobieſki*, who for the Reward of his Services procured him the Cardinal's Cap.

His Origin. This Prince owed his Fortune ſolely to his Merit. He was a Native of the Province of *Ruſſia*. His Father was *James Sobieſki* Caſtellan of *Cracow*, and his Mother a Daughter of *Staniſlaus Zolkienſki* Grand General of *Poland*. His Conduct

Conduct and Courage raiſed him to the higheſt Dignities in the Republic. In 1665 he was made General, and the Year following High Steward of the Houſehold, and Palatine of the Kingdom. He beat the *Coſſacks*; took ſixty of their Towns in one Campaign, and then drove them out of the Palatinate of *Bradaw* into the Lower *Podolia*. After the Loſs of *Kaminiec*, he put a Stop to the farther Progreſs of the *Turks*, and the Conqueſt of *Choczin* gave the finiſhing Hand to his Glory. King *Michael* died in that Circumſtance. *Sobieſki* did not preſume to declare his Pretenſions; but under the Shew of an imaginary Candidate, he artfully formed his own Faction, took a proper Time to make his Deſigns known, and aſcended the Throne he had lately preſerved, and which, it may be, none but himſelf was capable of defending.

The *Turks* took the Field, before the *Poliſh* Army could be got together. *Choczin* ſurrender'd after a Siege of eight Days, and *Diſkin* was taken at Diſcretion. The Grand Vizir then laid Siege to *Human*, which held out for fifteen Days. The Place was reduced to the laſt Extremities, and not finding any Hopes of Succour at hand, enter'd upon a Capitulation; when two Mines having blown up a Baſtion, open'd ſo conſiderable a Breach, that the Infidels enter'd the Town before the Treaty was ſigned. They expos'd it to Plunder, and put the Gariſon to the Sword. After theſe Exploits, *Koproli* advanced towards *Kaminiec*, and ruin'd all the neighbouring Poſts, which might be of Service to the *Poles* in the Siege of that City, which he was apprehenſive of; and then giving Orders to the Cham of *Tartary* to oppoſe *Sobieſki* in the beſt manner he could, whoſe Army was beginning to be formed, he

1674. *Conqueſts of the* Turks.

ſent part of his own into Winter Quarters, and the reſt he diſpatched into *Aſia*, to ſerve againſt the Sophi of *Perſia*, who threatened *Babylon*.

The *Poliſh* Armies are almoſt wholly made up of Gentlemen not ſubject to Diſcipline, who generally neglect the Orders of their Prince, and do not come together at the Time fixed by his Decrees. And thus, though *Sobieſki* was very deſirous of engaging with the *Turks*, and oppoſing their Progreſs, he was not able to take the Field till towards *November*, by which Time they had already compaſſed all they intended. As he could not therefore join the Infidels, he marched into *Ukrania*, at the Head of 30000 Men. The Capital of that Province ſurrendered to him, after having ſtood out ſeven and twenty Years. *Raſcow*, and moſt of the Towns inhabited by the *Coſſacks*, either open'd their Gates to him, or were carried by Aſſault; inſomuch that *Dorozenſki* had but two Places left him of any Conſideration. The Fatigues of the Campaign led the Army of *Lithuania*, under the Command of General *Pac*, to a Revolt, and a great Number of the *Poles* followed their Example, and deſerted the King.

1676. If that Prince had not been Maſter of the greateſt Conſtancy and Courage, *Poland* muſt have been utterly loſt. The Infidels, inform'd that the Poſpolite was diſperſed, and that the King had not above four or five thouſand Men in his Retinue, came into the Field early in the Spring, and laid Siege to *Zbarras*, which would open them a Way into *Ruſſia*, from whence they might eaſily march to the very Gates of the Capital of the Kingdom. After ſome Reſiſtance, 5000 Peaſants, who were block'd up in *Zbarras*, revolted againſt *Deſauteuls*, a *French* Gentleman, who was Governor of the Place, and threw him over

Sobieſki raiſes the Siege of Woignaff.

over the Walls. The Baſha *Ibrahim* puniſhed them for this Treachery, though it was advantageous to him. He cut off the Heads of the principal Perſons concern'd, and condemned the reſt to the Gallies. The Conqueror then ſent out large Parties to inſult the little Army of *Sobieski*, which was poſted under the Cannon of *Leopold*. But they kept their Ground, and repulſed the Aſſailants ſo vigorouſly, that the *Ottoman* General did not think proper to engage in an Action. There were then ſoon Overtures made towards a Peace. The *Turks*, elate with their Succeſs, demanded that *Podolia* ſhould be given up to them, that they ſhould be reimburſed the Expences of the War, and that *Ukrania* ſhould be given to *Dorozenſki*, who ſhould poſſeſs it as a Feudatory of the *Porte*. But as weak as *Sobieſki* was, he refus'd his Conſent to ſo diſhonourable a Treaty, and the War was continued on to the next Year.

To juſtify the Refuſal of the Accommodation, he did all he could to re-unite the *Poles*, and with great Difficulty form'd an Army capable of keeping the Field. The *Turks* laid Siege to *Woinaff*. He march'd againſt them, and oblig'd them to raiſe the Siege. He then intrench'd himſelf upon the Banks of the *Nieſter*; and thither the Infidels, whoſe Forces were far ſuperior to his, came up to attack him. But all their Efforts prov'd unſucceſsful. *Sobieſki*, ſecure of his own Courage and the Reſolution of his Troops, march'd even out of his Entrenchments to diſpute a Poſt with the Enemy, which they had a mind to make themſelves Maſters of, and from whence they might have incommoded him in his Camp. They fought till Night came on, on the 24th of *September*, and the Chriſtian Army had all the Advantage. The four following Days were diſtinguiſh'd

1675. *Conqueſt of* Zbaraz.

by

by ſo many Engagements, in which the Turk came off always with the worſt. At laſt, on the 9th of *October*, *Ibrahim* Baſha, and the Cham of *Tartary*, reſolving upon a laſt Effort, march'd with their whole Force againſt the *Poliſh* Camp. They made their Attack with all poſſible Bravery and Reſolution; but being repuls'd in every Quarter, and aſtoniſh'd at the Number of the ſlain, they retreated, and both Parties then came to an Accommodation. Peace was concluded upon the 15th of the ſame Month at *Zarawna*, on the Banks of the *Nieſter*, on the following Conditions: That the diſhonourable Treaty made by King *Michael Wiſnowitzki* ſhould be diſannull'd; that the *Poles* ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of that Part of *Ukrania*, which lay on this Side the *Nieſter*; that *Comirca*, and the Territories appertaining to the General of the *Coſſacks*, who had lately put themſelves under the Protection of the Czar of *Muſcovy*, ſhould belong to the *Turks*; that the *Roman Catholic* Religion ſhould be preſerved in thoſe Countries; that the Infidels ſhould give back all their other Conqueſts, except *Kamieniec* and its Dependencies; and that they ſhould defend *Poland* againſt all its Enemies.

Treaty of Peace.

Under the Circumſtances he then was, at a Time when the Nobility could ſcarce be brought to act for the Good of the Republic, *Sobieſki* could not obtain more advantageous Conditions. They appear'd ſo exorbitant to the Grand Signior, that he refuſed for ſome Time to ratify them; and did not comply at laſt, till his Grand Vizir *Kiuprili* repreſented to him, that *Poland* would be invincible, ſo long as the Arm and Fortune of *Sobieſki* could fight for it.

Hungary had for ſome Years laſt paſt been the Seat of moſt violent Commotions. The Emperor had made himſelf Maſter of the principal Cities of

of the Kingdom, had garriſoned them with *German* Soldiers, and attempted to make that Crown hereditary. Count *Nadaſti*, provoked at his being refuſed the Palatinate of the Kingdom, and Count *de Serim*, diſcontented with not obtaining the Government of *Carleſtad*, had ſecretly implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Porte*, and offered to make *Hungary*, *Croatia* and *Stiria* tributary to the *Turks*, if they would lend a helping Hand towards putting them into their Poſſeſſion. The Grand Vizir, who had the Conqueſt of *Candia* from the *Venetians* at that time in his Thoughts, did not accept of their Offers, though at another Time they would have been favourably received; inſomuch, that the Malcontents, deſpairing of any Aſſiſtance from *Turkey*, and finding themſelves too weak to engage in an open Revolt, had recourſe to other Methods. *Nadaſti* invited *Leopold*, the Empreſs, and the Princeſſes, to an Entertainment he was to give in one of his Territories, and prepared a poiſoned Diſh for the Emperor. *Nadaſti*'s Wife, to whom the Traitor had diſcovered his Deſign, was ſtruck with ſo much Horror, that ſhe cauſed the fatal Diſh to be taken away, and another like it to be ſerv'd up in its room. *Nadaſti* not obſerving the Effects he expected from the Poiſon, charg'd it upon his Wife, who readily own'd what ſhe had done. The barbarous Wretch puniſhed her for it in the moſt cruel Manner imaginable, and forced her to die by the ſame kind of Death, from which ſhe had preſerved the Emperor. *and the Emperor* Leopold Ignatius.

In the mean time, the Conſpirators uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to debauch the Nobility. *Ragotſki*, *Tattembach*, *Frangipani*, and ſeveral Gentlemen of Diſtinction, were drawn into the Plot, which was ſoon after diſcovered. Count *Tattembach* was betray'd by his *Valet de Chambre*, who

ſent

ſent to the Court of *Vienna* the Original of t
Treaty he had made with the Count *de Ser*
An intercepted Letter compleated the Diſcov
of this terrible Conſpiracy. *Serin* and *Fra*
Chriſtopher Frangipani his Brother-in-law, we
ſeized upon in a little Place of *Croatia*, when th
leaſt expected it, where their Reſiſtance woul
have been ineffectual, and ſurrendered themſelv
quietly upon the Aſſurances, that Prince *Lobk*
witz, his Imperial Majeſty's firſt Miniſter, gav
them, that he would procure their Pardon. *Na*
daſti was taken up at the ſame time, and all thes
three Lords were beheaded.

Leopold then flatter'd himſelf that he could diſ-
poſe of *Hungary* as an hereditary Country, and
thought he might do as he pleas'd, whilſt he ſaw
nothing capable of oppoſing his Deſigns. He
ſuppreſſed the Dignity of Palatine, created a
Viceroy removeable at Pleaſure, whoſe Power
was intirely dependent upon the Imperial Court,
and confiſcated the Rebels Eſtates. Some Time
after he erected a Sovereign Court of Juſtice for
all Affairs in the Kingdom, from which there
was no Appeal. The Proteſtants, whoſe Privi-
leges were reſtrained by the Claims of this new
Juriſdiction, and in general, the whole Body of
the Nation, wholly turn'd their Minds, upon this,
towards ſhaking off the Chains which the *Imperi-*
aliſts attempted to put upon them.

Theſe Troubles were farther increaſed upon
the Death of Prince *Francis Ragotſki*, who had
been forced to make a Ceſſion of the Counties of
Zatkmar and *Zemboliſch* to the Emperor. The
Tranſilvanians demanded back that Principality;
and *Leopold* refuſing to reſtore it, the two Parties
prepared for War; but War was carried ſlowly
on, till the *Turks* engag'd themſelves in it.

In

In 1677, Count *de Bohun*, at the Head of 6000 *Poles*, who, after the Treaty of *Zurawnow* mentioned already, having no Employment, had march'd into *Hungary*, beat General *Smith*, and joined the Rebels commanded by *Weſtini*. The famous *Tekeli*, who prevailed upon the *Turks* and ſo many other Enemies to arm againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, came up likewiſe with his Troops to increaſe the Army of the Malcontents, which then conſiſted of 18000 Men. Soon after, this Lord was declar'd General inſtead of *Weſtini*.

When the Emperor ſaw that the Storm grew more conſiderable, he endeavour'd to prevent it; and in the Diet of *Odemburg*, he granted the Proteſtants the Churches they had built, gave them Leave to build three more in the *Upper Hungary*, and reſtor'd the Office of Palatine of the Kingdom; but theſe Favours were out of Seaſon. *Tekeli* refuſed to ſubſcribe to this Accommodation, as knowing that he ſhould ſoon be aſſiſted by the *Tranſilvanians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*. Declaring himſelf the Avenger of the Blood of Count *Serim*, he married the Princeſs, who was Widow to *Ragotſki*, and by that means became Poſſeſſor of the Fort of *Mongate*. He ſoon after took the Town and Caſtle of *Caſſovia*. *Lengch*, *Spit*, *Eperies*, *Tokai* and *Tillek* opened their Gates to him, and the Sultan declar'd him Prince of *Hungary*.

Tho' the *Turks* had not yet openly declar'd for War, they had notwithſtanding furniſh'd *Tekeli* with Succours, and the Baſha of *Varadin* was concern'd in the taking of *Fillec*. At laſt, on the 2d of *January*, the fatal Horſe-tails, the uſual Enſigns of an enſuing War, were ſeen upon the Gates of the Seraglio of *Adrianople*; and the whole 1683.

whole *Ottoman* Empire was in Motion, to carry Fire and Sword into the Boſom of *Auſtria*.

A League between the Emperor and the King of Poland.

To reſiſt this formidable Enemy, the Emperor *Leopold Ignatius* had, the Year before, implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and all Chriſtian Princes, and particularly ſought the Alliance of the King of *Poland*, that Prince ſo terrible to the Infidels, who, with an Handful of Soldiers, had check'd the Progreſs of the moſt numerous of the *Ottoman* Armies.

Sobieski had for ſome Years been taſting the Bleſſings of Peace, and quietly enjoying the Fruit of his Labour, by means of the advantageous Treaties he had made with the *Porte*. Beſides, he was no Friend to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, nor to *Leopold* in particular, who had refus'd him Aſſiſtance, when *Poland*, preſſed by the Arms of the Infidels, was within a Moment of becoming their Prey. Theſe Motives for ſome time diverted *Sobieski* from the Alliance that was offer'd him; but the Courts of *Rome* and *Vienna* made ſuch powerful Applications, that at laſt they prevail'd on the King to join his Arms with the *Imperialiſts*, againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom.

In ſhort, *Louiſa de la Grange d' Arquien*, Queen of *Poland*, a *French* Lady by Birth, ſought to form an Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which might contribute to the Advancement of her Family. *Leopold*, who was acquainted with the Sentiments of this Princeſs, was beforehand with her, flattered her Ambition, and made her very large Promiſes. They fed her with Hopes, that if ſhe could engage the King her Husband to ſign a Treaty againſt the *Turk*, they would give her Son the Arch-ducheſs to Wife, and that with the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor, ſhe might be able to ſet the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of that young Prince, after his Father's Death.

Death. *Innocent* XI. promiſed him his Protection and Intereſt, and undertook to procure Prince *James* to be nominated his Father's Succeſſor in a general Diet. Upon theſe Promiſes ſhe ſollicits *Sobieſki*, and eaſily gain'd him over to her Views. In the mean time a great Number of *Poliſh* Lords in the Diet oppoſed the Rupture of the Treaties ſubſiſting with the *Porte*, and the entring into the new League which was then propos'd; but the Queen's Party managed ſo dexterouſly, and repreſented in ſuch lively Colours the Danger to which all Chriſtendom was about to be expos'd, that they carried it for an Alliance with the Emperor.

This important Treaty was concluded on the 31ſt of *March*, 1683. The Terms were, That the Emperor ſhould have 40000 Men in the Field, and 20000 in Gariſon; that *Sobieski* ſhould put himſelf at the Head of the Army, which was to march againſt the *Turks*; that they ſhould fall upon *Tekeli* with 6000 Men, whilſt the reſt ſhould make themſelves Maſters of *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, and drive the Infidels from thence. By a ſecond Treaty the King engag'd to march to the Relief of *Vienna*, in caſe that City was beſieged, as the great Preparations of the Enemy gave Cauſe to apprehend it would be.

As ſoon as the King had ſign'd theſe Treaties, he took Pains to make good what he had done. He was generally thought to be inclin'd to Avarice; and indeed the Deſire of raiſing his Family might perhaps lead him to too ſtrict an Oeconomy, and the heaping up of immenſe Riches; but in the preſent Circumſtances, it ſeem'd as if he had ſpar'd, only to lay out his Treaſures to Advantage upon a proper Occaſion. He open'd his Coffers to raiſe Troops, and drew over ſeveral Officers of Diſtinction to ſerve under him; he form'd

form'd Regiments of *Coſſacks*, and maintain'd Spies at his own Expence in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. He even found Means to draw over *Tekeli* and *Abaffi* from the *Turkiſh* Party; and tho' thoſe two Princes appeared to be engaged with the Infidels, they notwithſtanding held a private Correſpondence with *Sobieski*.

Siege of Vienna in Auſtria. *Kara Muſtapha* the Grand Vizir ſoon appear'd at the Head of 20000 Men. Upon his Approach the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was Generaliſſimo of the Imperial Army, and had laid Siege to *Neuhauſel* upon the *Neyera*, retreated into the *Schut*, an Iſland formed by the *Danube*, and famous for the Fort of *Komorre*, raiſed upon a Point of Land on the Side of *Gran*; but *Vienna*, in a Conſternation, calling him to her Relief, he led his Army up to the Walls of the City. The Grand Vizir tarried ſome few Days before *Rab*, or *Javaria*, which he cauſed to be beſieged; but ſoon abandoning that Enterprize, he march'd up the *Danube*, and in the Month of *July* came within Sight of the Capital of *Auſtria*.

Flight of the Emperor. The News of the Infidels Approach, and the View of the Fires the *Tartars* had kindled on both Sides the River, threw the Emperor into the greateſt Conſternation. He quitted his Palace with Precipitation, without carrying off with him either Furniture, Money, or Jewels. Moſt of the Lords followed him without Equipages; and they narrowly eſcaped being ſeiz'd by the *Tartars* in the Neighbourhood of *Lintz*. The Emperor not thinking himſelf ſtill ſecure, though arrived in that Place, reſolved to go a great way farther yet into *Germany*. His ſecond Flight was as precipitate as the former, and attended with a Circumſtance more deplorable. The Empreſs, who was ſix Months gone with Child, the Ladies, and the whole Court, without Lodging, Fire, or Proviſions,

Proviſions, were oblig'd to paſs a whole Night in a Foreſt, where, with much Difficulty, they got a Truſs of Straw to lay the Empreſs upon, who was in ſuch Conſternation, that ſhe was ready to cry out. At laſt, *Leopold* arriving at *Paſſaw*, reſted awhile, and waited for the Event of the Siege of *Vienna*.

The Trenches were opened on the 14th of *July*. Beſides the *Hungarians*, *Tranſilvanians*, *Tartars*, and the Troops which guarded the Bridges of *Rab*, the *Turks* alone made up a Body of 150000 Men, who took up a Tract of Ground proportionable to their Numbers. The Grand Vizir's Quarter was upon the little riſing Hills which ſurround the Palace. Gold and Jewels made, on every Side, a moſt ſplendid Shew in the midſt of Mortars and Cannon. All the Terrors of War and the Siege were intermix'd with the Pride and Pomp of Luxury. No Prince in *Europe* could appear more glorious, or more terrible. *Diſpoſition of the Beſiegers.*

On the other Side, the City beſieged was very weak in ſeveral Places, and the Counterſcarp in a ſad Condition. The Point of Attack was flank'd with two ſmall Baſtions, and fortified by a Ravelin, which covered the Curtain. The Rampart lay cloſe to the Houſes, and Ground was wanting to make a proper Retreat; inſomuch, that if the firſt Poſts had been carried, it would have been impoſſible to have held out much longer. But there were Proviſions in *Vienna*, and Ammunition in abundance. There was a ſufficient Artillery, and managed by ſkilful Hands. And the Gariſon were aſſiſted by a conſiderable Number of Citizens, who ſeem'd reſolv'd to ſave their Country, or periſh in its Ruins. The Duke of *Lorrain* took his Poſt a ſmall Diſtance off on the left Side of the *Danube*, as well to encourage the Beſieged, as to be in *The Condition of the Place.*

Readineſs to receive the Succours which ſhould arrive.

The Siege was not carried on with that Vigour which the *Turks* uſually ſhew upon ſuch an Occaſion. The firſt Night they carried their Trenches within 60 Foot of the Foſſe; but they ſcarce made any farther Advancement. A Battery of 70 Pieces of Cannon was not able in ſix Weeks Time to break down one ſingle Pan of the Ravelin. Their Mines were all countermined: Not one of them ſucceeded; and their whole Ordnance, through want of proper Managers, became ineffectual. 'Tis ſaid, that *Muſtapha* prolong'd the Siege with Deſign; and that to preſerve the Plunder he expected to meet with, he was afraid of carrying the Place by Aſſault.

Duke of rain de- Tekeli. Whilſt he lay before *Vienna*, *Tekeli* was buſy in *Hungary*. The Town of *Presbourg* having put itſelf under his Protection, the *Hungarian* Prince, ſupported by a Body of 16000 *Turks*, march'd to attack the Citadel. The Duke of *Lorrain*, inform'd of his Motions, hazarded all to prevent them. He quitted his Poſt, enter'd the Caſtle of *Presbourg*, and drove out the Gariſon which was in the Town. *Tekeli* was poſted within a Quarter of a League of them; and it was judg'd proper to fall upon him. *Lubormiſki*, at the Head of 2500, put him to flight, ſlew 800 of his Men, and oblig'd the reſt to retreat towards *Tyrnaw*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having repaſs'd the *Danube*, was preparing to throw a Bridge over it near *Tala*, whilſt Count *Tekeli*, by the Orders of the Grand Vizir, entered *Auſtria*. The Duke, inform'd of the Enemies March, went to meet them, and came up with them not far from *Piſemberg*. The Enemy were poſted upon a riſing Ground, from whence two Battalions fell ſo fiercely upon the Chriſtian Troops, that they repuls'd the

the *Poles*, and overthrew all that ſtood in their way; but the Duke's Dragoons put a Stop to their Fury, and charged them ſo reſolutely, that they were obliged to return to the main Body of their Army, which immediately was diſperſed: Some of them fled towards *la Mark*, and the reſt towards the Bridges of *Vienna*.

Sobieski in the mean time, preſſed by the repeated Letters of *Leopold*, march'd with 20000 *Poles* to the Succour of the Place; and joining the Duke of *Lorrain* near *Ollerbrun*, croſs'd the *Danube* at *Tala*, over a Bridge which they had built, led his Army through the narrow Paſſages which the Enemy might eaſily have guarded, and ſeized upon the Mountains which ſurround *Vienna*, and the Caſtle of *Claremberg*, which commands the whole Country. The March prov'd fortunate, and the Succeſs of it let *Sobieski* know, that he had to do with an Enemy, who was either without Experience, or too full of Preſumption. The Chriſtian Army encamped, on the 11th of *September*, on the Tops of the Mountains we have mentioned, and their Generals let them reſt for one whole Day, that they might be fitter for Action on the next. The Engagement began by break of Day on the Side of *Claremberg*. The different Poſts ſeiz'd by the Infidels were covered with Inundations; but notwithſtanding this Advantage they were driven from them, and by Noon *Sobieski* was Maſter of all the higher Ground, and prepared to fall, with a Body of Huſſars, upon the Quarters of the Grand Vizir.

Sobieſki marches to the Succour of Vienna.

Whilſt the Chriſtian Troops were thus bravely engaged, *Muſtapha*, making a Jeſt of their Aſſault, was drinking Coffee in his Tent with his two Sons and the Cham of *Tartary*. He ſent only 12000 Men to the Engagement of Claremberg.

and raiſes the Siege.

berg, and declin'd giving any Aſſiſtance to his Horſe, though attack'd by the whole Imperial Army. But as ſoon as the *Turkiſh* General, blinded by a ſenſeleſs Confidence, ſaw the Standards of *Sobieski* ſo near him, his fooliſh Preſumption was ſoon changed into Cowardice. His Courage forſook him, and trembling and affrighted, he had no Strength but to fly. The *Germans* firſt enter'd the Camp, as being neareſt to it. The King reach'd it by Six in the Evening; and before Night there was not a *Turk* to be ſeen. They found immenſe Riches. *Sobieski* wrote to his Queen, that the Grand Vizir had made him his ſole Executor.

Judgment upon this Action.

Muſtapha, in the Siege of *Vienna*, acted contrary to all the known Rules of the Art of War, and the Advice of the oldeſt Baſha's. He ought firſt to have conquered *Javarin*, which he left behind him. In laying ſiege to *Vienna*, he ſplit the *Turkiſh* Creſcents againſt that Rock, and gave into the Hands of the Chriſtians the prodigious Wealth he had brought along with him. He might have taken the City before the *Poles* came up. He might have retarded their March, and covered his Lines, by guarding the narrow Paſſes which ſurrounded his Camp; but he look'd upon the firſt Advantages of the Chriſtians with Contempt, and ſeem'd as if he had let them gain them only that he might chuſe a Time to conquer them at his Pleaſure, in the midſt of their Succeſs. When they fell upon his Camp, it gave him no more Concern. His Troops were driven from Hill to Hill, without his ſending them any Succours to ſupport them. Laſtly, he kept about him 150000 Men, to be as it were Spectators of the Engagement. *Sobieski* advances, and the Vizir waits his coming up in a State of Inſenſibility, as if it were to deliver into his Hands his

rich Pavilions. A miſtaken Courage blinds him, and conceals his Danger from him; and when he diſcerns it, 'tis only to paſs from one Extreme of Preſumption, to another of Terror and Conſternation. This great Victory coſt the Chriſtians no more than the Loſs of 600 of their Men. As the Infidels made but a weak Reſiſtance, and were not purſued, there were but a ſmall Number of them left upon the Field of Battle.

Sobieski, upon his Entrance into *Vienna*, which he had ſo lately delivered, went directly and preſented himſelf before the Altar, to return his Thanks to Almighty God, and joined himſelf in the *Te Deum*, with his Countenance fixed upon the Ground, and the moſt lively Expreſſions of Admiration and Gratitude. The People were buſied in ſinging his Praiſes, and looking upon him with Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, whilſt the King attributed the whole Succeſs of his Arms to Heaven.

The Emperor returned into the Capital of his Dominions on the 14th of the ſame Month; and then, ſhewing himſelf as haughty as he had appeared dejected before, he let *Sobieski* know, that he would not pay him the Honours which were given to Kings in other Courts. At a Time when *Leopold* was recovering, as I may ſay, his Crown from the victorious Hands of the *Poliſh* Monarch, he conteſted upon a vain Ceremonial. It was at laſt determined, that they ſhould meet in open Field; and the Interview was made at *Schwech*, within a League and half off from *Vienna*. *Leopold's Behaviour.*

As ſoon as the Emperor appeared, *Sobieski* went to meet him, and ſaid to him in *Latin*, That he was very glad that Heaven had proſpered his Endeavours and his Friendſhip. *Leopold* gave no Anſwer, either thro' the Haughtineſs of his Diſpoſition, or that he was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at the Sight of his Deliverer. Two Days after he

he ſent Prince *James* a Sword ſet round with Diamonds, and three thouſand Ducats to every one of the *Poliſh* Generals. He wrote a Letter likewiſe to the young Prince, in which, to excuſe himſelf for not having before taken Notice of him, he told him, that the Remembrance of the Dangers he had run, and the Preſence of the Prince to whom he owed his Preſervation, had made at once ſo great an Impreſſion upon him, that he was in a manner inſenſible. However this was, *Sobieski* was treated with Ingratitude, and the Promiſes which had been made him were forgotten, as ſoon as the Service was done.

The *Poliſh* Lords, provok'd to ſee their King ſo diſreſpectfully treated, would have perſuaded him to retire; but a Senſe of Glory prevail'd more upon him, and he determin'd to finiſh the Campaign.

A fatal Engagement to the Poles.

Upon raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*, the *Ottoman* Army retreated into *Hungary* to the Neighbourhood of *Gran*. A large Body of Troops had paſſed the *Danube* over the Bridge of *Barkham*, and had ſpread themſelves by Pelotoons around that Fort, in the Orchards which lie along the Banks of the River. The King of *Poland* form'd a Deſign of diſlodging them from that Poſt; and that the *Poles* might have all the Glory of the Expedition, he did not communicate his Project to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Upon the Approach of the firſt Line of the Chriſtian Troops, the *Turks*, who had recovered themſelves, fell upon them; and their Numbers being conſiderably augmented, they drove back the *Poles*, and kill'd a great Number. *Sobieski* himſelf was never in ſo great Danger. Though he could not have thought the Enemy would have been beforehand with him, nor expected they would have engag'd ſo ſoon, he gave immediate Orders, and ſtood firm with a Body

a Body of *Coſſacks* and ſome Horſe. The *Turks*, with their Sabres in their Hands, fell upon him ſo impetuouſly, that his Battalion was ſhaken, and in a Fright turn'd their Backs upon the third Onſet. Deſerted by his Soldiers, he was oblig'd to fly with them; and being briskly purſu'd, and ſcarce known by his own Men, he narrowly eſcaped being ſtifled in the midſt of the Preſs. Twice a *Turkiſh* Soldier attempted to cut off his Head; and if a Gentleman, and the Maſter of his Horſe, who never left him, had not diverted thoſe fatal Blows, the great *Sobieski*, who had eſcap'd the Dangers of ſo many Battles, muſt have loſt his Life in that Skirmiſh. He was ſo fatigu'd, and covered over with Duſt, Sweat and Blood, and ſo ſpent with the Heat of the Weather and the Engagement, that he was not able to ſit upon his Horſe. His Head declin'd upon his Breaſt, and as he was fat and heavy, he was in danger of being either ſuffocated or falling into the Hands of the Enemy. His Gentleman and the Maſter of the Horſe took hold of him by one Arm, and keeping his Head up ſtrait for fear of Suffocation, they let go the Bridles of their Horſes, and ſo eſcaped.

Vengeance followed cloſe at the Heels of this Affront. A Report was ſpread among the *Turks*, that the King was ſlain. Fired with their Advantage, and freed from the Fear of that terrible Thunderer, they deſired of *Kara Muſtapha* a Supply of Troops, to exterminate the Remains of the Chriſtian Army. The Grand Vizir immediately diſpatch'd a numerous Body of Horſe, and ordered *Tekeli* to advance towards *Barkham* with 30000 Men under his Command; but before theſe Supplies could arrive, *Sobieski* got the Start of the Enemy. In ſhort, upon the of *October*, two Days after the Defeat,

In a ſecond Action they beat the Turks.

got on Horſe-back by Break of Day, and put his Troops in order of Battle. The Right Wing he commanded in Perſon, the Left he committed to the Grand General of the Crown, and gave the Center to the Prince of *Lorrain*.

Rage and Fury ſeem'd to animate the *Turks* upon the firſt Onſet, and to ſupply their want of Numbers. The Chriſtian Troops fell upon them with a Rapidity equal to their Reſiſtance. The Baſha's of *Buda*, *Sileſtria*, and *Caramania*, made prodigious Efforts, and long ſuſpended the Victory, which the Courage of the King of *Poland*, and the good Order he had eſtabliſhed, at laſt carried in favour of the Chriſtians. *Sobieski*, by placing himſelf in the Right Wing, as we have already obſerved, had a Deſign to fall down towards the River, and throw himſelf betwixt the Enemy and their Bridge. When their Ardour began to abate, he ſtretch'd out his Forces by little and little into the lower Plain, and drew towards the *Danube*. Upon this Motion the Infidels, who were apprehenſive for their Bridge and the Fort of *Barkham*, broke their Ranks to get thither before him. They were briskly purſu'd, and ſoon thrown into Confuſion. The Way was too narrow to receive them all. Part caſt themſelves into the *Danube*, and there periſhed. Others expired under the Sword of the Conqueror. A great Number ran towards the Bridge, which being overloaden, was broke down. A moſt dreadful Slaughter then followed. *Barkham* was attack'd by the *Poliſh* Foot, and carried by Aſſault. The Soldiers gave way to their Fury, and glutted their Hatred againſt the Infidels. 'Twas in vain to throw down their Arms; they ſpared none. They refuſed to hearken to a Capitulation; and the Conquerors, deaf to the Voices of their own Officers, would not be prevail'd on to

deſiſt

deſiſt from Slaughter, till there were no more Enemies to be ſlain. There fell that Day 12000 *Turks*.

The Action was over, and the Chriſtian Army already Conquerors, when *Tekeli* appeared upon the neighbouring Mountains; but upon ſeeing the Defeat of his Allies, he retreated. 'Tis thought that his Slowneſs was a Conſequence of the Intelligence he held with the King of *Poland*, and that he might have come up ſooner. The Grand Vizir ſuſpected it, and cauſed him to be taken up ſome Time after. The Fruit of this Victory was the Conqueſt of *Gran*, which ſurrender'd after a Siege of five Days. The Sultan attributed the Loſs of this City to the Negligence and Inability of *Kara Muſtapha*, and caus'd him to be ſtrangled.

After this glorious Campaign, *Sobieski* ſet forward upon his Return into his own Dominions. In his March he made himſelf Maſter of *Zatkin*, which broke all the Schemes of the Infidels, who had reſolved to fall upon him in his Retreat. A few Days after, the *Poles* defeated an Army of 40000 *Turks* and *Tartars* near *Filgrotin*. The *Coſſacks*, *Moldavians* and *Walachians* then enter'd the Province of *Butriac*, where they ſlew above 100000 Perſons.

The next Year the King enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the Emperor, and the Republic of *Venice*, againſt the *Turks*. Whilſt the *Imperialiſts* were engag'd upon the *Danube*, and the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, the *Poles* were to employ the Forces of the Infidels by an Attack on the Side of *Walachia*. By a ſecret Article of this Treaty it was ſtipulated, that this Province and *Moldavia* ſhould be abſolutely ſubject to *Sobieski*, and that he might diſpoſe of them to his eldeſt

1684. *Treaty with the Emperor and Republic of Venice.*

1686. eldeſt Son. Two Years after, the King drew the Czar of *Muſcovy* into this League, with the Hoſpodar of *Moldavia*, who promiſed to declare for him, as ſoon as the *Poles* ſhould ſet footing in his Country.

The King enters Moldavia. *Sobieski* march'd towards this Expedition with all the Ardour imaginable. The Advantages his Family would find in it, were a powerful Motive to engage him to it. He was followed by the braveſt Spirits in all *Poland*. All the Lords and Generals enter'd into the Service, and the Republic had not of a long Time ſent abroad ſo fine and great an Army. The Campaign was opened in the Beginning of *July*. The King would command in Perſon, tho' the Lords complain'd that he took from them the beſt Part of their Glory; and this Jealouſy had already occaſioned ſome Diviſions. The Army enter'd *Moldavia*, paſs'd the *Pruth*, and leaving it on the Right, travers'd vaſt Plains, without the Appearance of any Enemy. They expected the Hoſpodar, who, by a private Treaty made with him, was to join his Forces to the *Poles*; but the perfidious *Cantemir* had changed his Mind, and was gone over to the Infidels. The King made himſelf Maſter of all the Places in the Province, and found no Oppoſition to his Conqueſts. But the Difficulty was, how to preſerve a Country that lay quite open, without any one ſtrong Place in it.

The Treachery of the Vayvode.

After a March of four and twenty *Moldavian* Leagues, every one of which is as much as five *French* ones, without meeting with an Enemy, that he might not loſe the Fruit of that Expedition, *Sobieſki* reſolved upon proceeding as far as the Borders of the *Black Sea*, and laying ſiege to *Akierman* or *Bialogrod*, in the *Dubriac* Province of the leſſer *Tartary*, upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*.

davia. The Army then turned towards that Quarter, but ſoon found it was impoſſible to go forward, for the *Tartars* had laid the whole Country deſolate, and had left neither Forage nor Proviſion.

Sobieſki then quitted this Deſign to march along the *Danube*; but this Scheme was attended with greater Difficulties than the former. There were ſo many Rocks, Woods, and narrow Lanes, which lay in the Way, that, beſides the Ambuſcades, they had Cauſe to apprehend the Road was ſo impaſſable, that the Army muſt have periſhed, if they had advanced too far. They therefore returned towards the *Pruth:* And then the *Tartars* and *Moldavians* came down from their Mountains, and ſhew'd themſelves in the Valley. As the Corn and Hay were full-grown and dry, their Detachments ſet fire to the Fields, as the Negroes of *Congo* do in *Africa*, to drive away the Lions and Leopards: And the Chriſtian Troops oft ſaw themſelves cover'd with Flames and Aſhes. Beſides this, they were oblig'd to engage in ſeveral Places, and always in a Situation of Diſadvantage. The greateſt Danger was in croſſing the *Buccovines*, which were vaſt Solitudes, interſpers'd with Ditches and narrow Paſſes between the *Pruth* and one Part of the *Krapac* Mountains. The *Tartars* propos'd there to have quite deſtroy'd the *Poliſh* Army, when, ſhut up in a kind of Priſon, they would not have been in a Condition to defend themſelves. To this end they placed an Ambuſcade upon the Side of a Brook, which flow'd out of a Rock near a narrow Paſſage, lin'd on each Side by a ſteep Rock, and through which the *Poles* were obliged to march. They were upon the Point of falling into this Snare, when a Deſerter luckily came to give them Notice of the Danger which threatened them. Inform'd

The remarkable March of the Poliſh Army.

form'd of the Place, and the Nature of the Ambuſcade, the King detach'd *Rewowſki*, the Treaſurer of the Crown, with a Body of ſelect Soldiers, who, climbing up the Mountain, fell upon the *Tartars* from behind, as they lay aſleep, and intirely routed them. The Army then march'd forward without any Apprehenſion, and happily arrived at *Snyatin* in *Pokatia*. This Expedition had not indeed the Succeſs which was expected; but this was ſo far from caſting a Blemiſh upon the Reputation of *Sobieſki*, that it ſerved only to augment his Glory.

The King ſtood in need of all his Courage and Experience, to prevent any fatal Effects from the *Moldavian*'s Treachery. Not ſeeing him come up, he was for marching into the *Budziac*, or as far as the *Danube*. His Courage led him thither; and he would have compaſſed his Deſigns, if the Ways had been paſſable. In his Return, his Skill, and the Order he cauſed to be obſerved, ſaved his Army, and were equivalent to the Laurels of a Victory. The ten thouſand *Greeks*, whoſe Story is given by *Xenophon*, were not expos'd to greater Dangers, nor retreated out of *Perſia* with more Honour, than the *Poles* from the Mountains of *Moldavia*.

A few Months before the King of *Poland*'s Death, Count *Jablownowſki*, Grand General of the Kingdom, and *Sapieha*, Grand General of *Lithuania*, gain'd a Victory over the *Turks* and *Tartars* near *Nieſter*. The Infidels left 4000 of their Men upon the Field of Battle, and loſt beſides 5000 Waggons loaden with Proviſions and Ammunition, deſign'd for *Kaminiec*, with the Money which was to pay the Gariſon. The *Poles* loſt but twelve Men in the whole Action.

Sobieſki had for ſome Time declin'd appearing at the Head of the Army, either thro' an Inclination to ſilence the Complaints of the Lords, who were diſpleas'd that he gave them no Opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, or that his Age and Sickneſs would not admit of the Fatigue. He died in ſhort on the 17th of *June* at *Villanova*, near *Warſaw*, of a Swelling, which ended in a Dropſy. He liv'd ſeventy two Years, and reign'd two and twenty. 1696. *The King's Death.*

His Courage rais'd him to the Throne, and his future Conduct ſhew'd, that he deſerv'd his good Fortune. He knew how to join a good Taſte for the Sciences, to a thorough Acquaintance with the Art of War, and could as well harangue in a Diet, as fight at the Head of an Army. If he heap'd up Riches, and ſeem'd of a ſparing Diſpoſition, the Intereſt of the Republic always got the better of his Temper. When he was no more than Marſhal of the Crown, he oft made uſe of his Wealth towards diſperſing thoſe vaſt Armies of *Tartars* and *Coſſacks*, which invaded the Kingdom with ſo much Fury; and in the Campaign of *Vienna*, he diſtributed his Treaſures with a kind of Prodigality, which was ſo much the more commendable, that if he was naturally fond of laying up Riches, he ſacrificed his own Inclination to the Neceſſities of the State. *His Character.*

Vienna ſav'd, and ſeveral other Exploits, have immortalized the Name of *Sobieſki*. If he did not recover *Kaminiec*, as he gave Cauſe to hope that he would, upon his coming to the Crown, the Reaſon was, becauſe the Republic had then neither Cannon, Powder, or Engineers. And what could *Sobieſki* do in this Condition? His Courage, thro' the Want of his Subjects Aſſiſtance, was con-

conſtrain'd againſt his Inclination to remain unactive. In the following Reign the *Turks* gave back *Kaminiec*; and this Reſtitution ought rather to be look'd upon, in ſome ſort, as a Conſequence of the Victories which *Sobieſki* and the *Imperialiſts* his Allies, had gain'd over the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, than attributed to any Efforts of *Auguſtus* and the *Poles* for the Recovery of that important Place.

Sobieſki had brought the *Coſſacks* under much greater Subjection than they were before; the *Muſcovites* were his Allies; the *Turks* were beaten in every Quarter, and preſum'd not to enter upon his Frontiers; the Kingdom, enrich'd with their Spoils, enjoy'd a profound Peace, whilſt the King, at the Head of his Troops, was expos'd to all the Hazards of War in an Enemy's Country; and laſtly, he had carried the Glory of the Nation to the higheſt Point of Perfection.

And yet this Prince, ſo deſerving of the Throne, met with but ungrateful Subjects. The Emperor ſhew'd but little Gratitude for the Services he had render'd him; and the Court of *Vienna*, not ſatisfied with refuſing Prince *James* the Arch-ducheſs, who had been promis'd him, oppos'd the Marriage of that young Prince with the Princeſs *Radzivil*. The *Poles* likewiſe but ill requited the good Offices of *Sobieſki*. The Houſe of *Saſieha*, which he had drawn from Obſcurity, and rais'd to the higheſt Offices in the Duchy of *Lithuania*, conſpired againſt him in 1683. *Radzieiowſki* his Relation, for whom he had procur'd a Cardinal's Cap, and had advanced him to the Dignity of Primate, became his Enemy. *Wielopolſki*, the Brother-in-law to the Queen, join'd with the Prelate; and 'tis ſaid, theſe two Lords form'd a Faction to dethrone their Benefactor. Laſtly, his Death gave Satisfaction

atisfaction to moſt of the *Poles*, and the reſt em'd little concern'd at it. The Events which ave follow'd, and the bloody Revolutions which ave fallen out in the Kingdom ſince his Death, ught to make him be extremely regretted, and t the *Poles* ſee how much preferable the Reign f ſuch a Piaſte, as *Sobieſki* was, muſt neceſſarily e to the Government of any Foreigner.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF *POLAND*, &c.

BOOK VI.

Interregnum. 1696. Jul. 24.

SOBIESKI was ſcarce dead, before Cardinal *Radzieiowſki*, Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and Primate of the Kingdom, came to *Warſaw*, where he made his Entry as Regent, during the *Interregnum*.

The Meeting of the Senate at Warſaw.

Within two Days after, the Senate met and fixed the Convocation of the Dietines throughout the Kingdom, to the 29th of *July*, and the Diet of Election, to the 29th of *Auguſt* in the ſame Year. The private Aſſemblies of each Diſtrict were full of Tumult and Confuſion; and the only Article of Moment agreed on by them was, that the Election ſhould be made by the *Poſpolite*, or Aſſembly of the Nobility of the Kingdom.

The

The Preliminary Diet was open'd on the 29th of *Auguſt*; and after very warm Debates, the Deputies made choice of *Humiecki*, *Stolnick* or Maſter of *Podolia*, the Nephew of the Palatine of *Kiow*, to be Marſhal of the Diet, or Director of the Convocation. The new Marſhal recommended himſelf to the Nobility, by his great Zeal in ſupporting the Honour and Intereſt of that principal Body of the Nation; and the Deputies likewiſe took part with him, in the ſmall Difference he had with the Cardinal Primate. The Cardinal, offended with ſome Inſinuations to the Prejudice of the Queen, which the Marſhal had indirectly let fall in a Diſcourſe he made to the Senate, interrupted him, and deſired he would explain what he meant by certain Expreſſions in his Speech. *Humiecki* in his turn, affronted at the Cardinal's Demand, ſaid that the whole Body of the Nobility was inſulted in his Perſon; and the Deputies, to ſhew that they reſented the Injury, left the Room, with the greateſt Part of the Senators, who all took a Pleaſure in giving this Mortification to the Primate, as, through his Zeal for the Queen he was become a Sharer in the general Hatred which they bore towards that Princeſs. *Preliminary Diet.*

Whilſt the *Poles* were mutually expreſſing their Jealouſies in the Diet, the *Tartars* made an Irruption into *Podolia*, carried off a great Number of Slaves of every Age and Condition, drove away the Cattle, and ſet fire to the Fields of Corn. The Army of *Poland* march'd towards thoſe Quarters, to put a Stop to their Ravages; and if they had been joined by the Forces of *Lithuania*, they would have doubtleſs effectually prevented them; but none of the Misfortunes of the Republic were ſufficient to make the latter Army move one Step. *Irruption of the Tartars into Podolia.*

The

Confederation of the Army of Poland.

The Republic, thus become a Prey to Strangers, was likewiſe torn to pieces by its own Subjects. *Boguſlaus Baronowſki*, a Gentleman whoſe Family had been ennobled by having given Birth to an Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, was left by his Father with ſo ſmall an Eſtate, that he was in no Condition to live as became his Quality. He had likewiſe ſpent the ſmall Fortune his Wife brought him, whom he had married only for her Money. Under theſe Circumſtances of *Boguſlaus*, the Army of the Crown demanded the Arrears that were due to them; and this Gentleman, who look'd upon Poverty as the greateſt of Evils, laid hold of the Opportunity to make his Fortune. "And is this "then, (cry'd he to the Mutineers) is this the "Reward of our Blood ſo often ſhed in Defence "of the Republic, that we muſt be left to pe-"riſh? Ah! rather let us be beforehand with "the *Turks* and *Tartars*. Let us take from them "the Means of plundering the Frontiers, by pay-"ing ourſelves with our own Hands, and carrying "off thence whatever we can. But why ſhould "I call it carrying off? It is preſerving the Sub-"ſtance of the Republic; for by this means the "Enemy will be diſappointed of their Prey, and "the Republic diſcharged of their Debts."

Theſe Sentiments of *Boguſlaus* were too agreeable to the Intentions of the Seditious, to meet with any Contradiction. On ſuch Occaſions the Eyes of the Multitude are fixed upon him who has moſt Boldneſs and Reſolution. *Boguſlaus* was unanimouſly proclaimed General of the Army, and they cloak'd their Revolt under the Name of *The Confederation.*

Deputies ſent by the Army to the Diet.

The new General laid a great Part of the Country under Contribution, and preſently after diſpatched his Deputies to the Senate. When they came thither, they boldly demanded, that the Army,

Army, which conſiſted of 30000 Men, ſhould be paid all the Arrears which were due to them for ten Years paſt. Theſe Demands were accompanied with Menaces, and all ſtood amazed to ſee the Republic thus braved by its Subjects, and Laws in this manner impos'd upon it.

But this Demand, though made by Mutineers, was notwithſtanding juſt. All the World was convinced, that it was both reaſonable and neceſſary, but the Means were wanting to ſatisfy it; as the Finances had been in the Hands of that ſort of People who live upon the Misfortunes of the Public. It was then propoſed to apply the Treaſures, hoarded up by *Sobieſki*, to this Uſe; but the Retreat and Proteſtations of the Deputy of *Czernichovia* warded off ſo fatal a Blow from the Royal Family.

This Step broke up the Diet, which could not be renewed but by the Removal of the Oppoſition. Part of the Deputies, however, agreed upon thirteen Articles, which principally concerned the Eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh* Religion, the Liberty of the Election, which was limited to the Time interpoſed betwixt the 15th of *May*, and the 16th of *June*; the Payment of the Army, and the Affairs of the late King's Houſhold. One of theſe Articles excluded all the *Piaſtes*, or Natives of the Country, from the Crown, that by this Means all the Troubles might be prevented which could ariſe from Jealouſy.

The Diet broke up.

Articles agreed on in the Diet.

There were likewiſe ſome fruitleſs Attempts in the Diet, to make up the Differences between Prince *Sapieha*, the Palatine of *Wilna*, and Grand General of *Lithuania*, and the Biſhop of *Wilna*, who had excommunicated him for quartering his Troops upon the Eſtates of the Nobility and Clergy. Some time after the breaking up of the Diet, the Army of *Lithuania*

Confederation of the Army of Lithuania. federation, under the Command of *Oginſki*, Grand Enſign of the Duchy. The Eſtates of *Sapieha* and his Adherents were plundered by theſe new Rebels, who marched againſt them, and cut off a great Number of them.

Whilſt *Sapieha* was obſtinately ſacrificing them to his own Vengeance, rather than the Tranquillity of the Public, his Couriers intercepted a Letter, from the Palatine of *Witeps* to the Queen; in which he conjur'd her to diſpatch with all Speed a freſh Supply of Money, to reſcue *Oginſki* from the Danger to which he was expoſed. *Sapieha* cauſed this Letter to be regiſtred, and ſent a Copy of it to all the Dietines throughout the Kingdom, charging the Queen with the Revolt of the Army of *Lithuania*. The leſſer Diets received the Impreſſion which the Grand General intended they ſhould, and the Queen's Party was ſo ſhock'd with this unforeſeen Accident, that they afterwards were never able to hold up their Heads.

Letter from the Palatine of Witeps *intercepted.*

The Queen charg'd with the Revolt of the Army.

The *Abbé de Polignac*, Ambaſſador of *France* in *Poland*, building his Hopes on theſe late Circumſtances, and perceiving that the Troubles of *Lithuania* would be an Obſtacle to the carrying on of his Deſigns, prevail'd upon the Son of *Sapieha*, Petty Marſhal of the Duchy, and an intimate Acquaintance of *Oginſki*, to labour at an Accommodation with his old Friend. And one of the private Conditions of the Treaty was to be the Union of the two Parties, in favour of the Candidate whom the Ambaſſador of *France* ſhould propoſe.

Agreement with Oginſki, *General of that Army.*

Nov. 26. 1696. *Abbé Polignac*'s Project ſucceeded, and the Agreement being ſigned, the Confederates ſubmitted to the Grand General. *Oginſki* was very much blamed for coming to an Accommodation, without including the Biſhop of *Wilna*, who had been the Pretext of the Confederation.

In

In the mean time, the Army of *Poland*, under the Command of *Boguſlaus*, plunder'd *Ruſſia*, whilſt the *Tartars*, to the Number of 50000, laid waſte *Volhinia*. They returned loaden with Spoils, carrying back with them a great Number of Slaves into their own Country. There were but few faithful Troops left to the Republic, wherewithal to reſtrain the Irruptions of the *Tartars*; and beſides, they had Buſineſs enough upon their Hands from the Confederate Army. *Poland* was under the Apprehenſion of a ſecond Irruption from thoſe *Barbarians*, when the *French* Ambaſſador offer'd to divert the Storm, by compounding the Buſineſs with the Sultan for 100000 Florins. Such were the Methods made uſe of by that able Miniſter, to fix the *Poles* more firmly in his Intereſt, whom he had already gain'd by his Magnificence and Politeneſs, and by that noble Addreſs and Openneſs of Behaviour, which never fail of procuring Reſpect and Confidence.

Ravages of the Army of Poland *in* Ruſſia.

Volhinia *laid waſte by the* Tartars.

In the mean time, all the Negotiations with the Confederate Army fell to the Ground. The General of thoſe Troops plunder'd the Country adjacent to *Warſaw*, and detach'd twelve Companies, which entered into Royal *Pruſſia*. They more particularly ravaged the Eſtate of the late King's Family; which raiſed a Suſpicion that the Ambaſſador of *France* held ſome Correſpondence with them, and that he ſeemed deſirous to put the Royal Family out of a Condition to ſupport their Intereſt in the enſuing Election, that the Candidate, propoſed by him, might find no Obſtacle from that Quarter. The Politicians likewiſe gave out, that he had promis'd thoſe Troops all the Pay that was due to them, beſides large Contributions for their Voices, over and above. 1697.

One bold Stroke proved a more powerful Remedy than all the Applications which, till then, had been made to the Rebels. *Boguſlaus*, who was ever at the Head of the Confederates, diſowned the Treaty concluded by his Deputies at *Leopold*, and ventur'd to juſtify his Conduct by a Manifeſto. The Commiſſioners of the Republic aſſembled in that City, to bring back the Army to their Duty, made a Decree, by which the Marſhal of the Confederation, and his Soldiers, were declared Enemies to their Country. A great Number of the Confederates found in *Boguſlaus* a mere Tyrant, and ſeem'd diſpoſed to quit his Colours, to enjoy the Indemnity offer'd them by the Republic. This General raiſed their Envy by a Profuſion, which would have ſcarce been pardon'd in a Prince. Beſides, having diſclaim'd the Deputies of the Army, who treated with the Biſhop of *Ploſko*, and the other Commiſſioners of the Republic, at *Leopold*, he had condemned the Principal of them to loſe his Head. This arbitrary Proceeding gain'd him the Diſaffection of the Confederates, and Compaſſion for the miſerable Deputy. Supporting the Jealouſy they had already conceived againſt the General, forty Companies divided from the reſt of the Army, who were upon the Point of following their Example. *Boguſlaus*, fully ſenſible of the Blow which this Defection gave to his Authority, and apprehending that he might not ſoon be in ſo good a Condition to obtain advantageous Terms, made haſte to ſubmit, that he might not draw upon himſelf the Indignation of the Diet, which was upon the point of meeting. Count *Jablonowſki*, who was ſuſpected to be at the Bottom of the Confederation, promoted the Treaty, and took great Care to efface the ſmalleſt Footſteps of that Rebellion.

The Army of Poland returns to their Duty.

Such

Such was then the Situation of *Poland*, whoſe Misfortunes ariſing from the private Intrigues of the Pretenders to the Crown, were every Day increaſing. At firſt there appeared but a ſmall Number of Candidates upon the Stage, but they ſoon after offer'd themſelves in great Abundance. Prince *James*, the late King's eldeſt Son, his ſecond Son Prince *Alexander*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Grand Marſhal of the Crown, the Grand General of *Lithuania*, *Opalinius* Staroſt of *Nowemicyſki*, the Princes of *Conti*, *Lorrain*, *Baden*, and *Newburg*, were all upon the Liſts. 1697. *Competitors for the Crown*

Beſides the Favour of the Palatinates, the Advantages on Prince *James*'s Side, were the Services done by his Father; the Reputation himſelf had gained in two Battles againſt the *Turks*, and at the raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*; the Alliance he had contracted with divers ſovereign Powers, by eſpouſing a Princeſs of *Newburg*, whoſe Siſters ſhared the Thrones of the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; the Inclinations of the King of *Sweden*; the Czar of *Muſcovy*, the Elector *Palatin*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*. *Prince James one of the Pretenders.* *The Advantages on his Side.*

But all theſe Advantages were counterbalanc'd by the Queen his Mother, who was eagerly bent on placing her ſecond Son upon the Throne. Prince *James*, in great Indignation at the Queen's Conduct, forbore to pay her the Reſpect which was due to a Mother. And for her part, if ever ſhe recollected that he was her Son, it was only to give an Edge to her Hatred, and diſſerve him with the greater Warmth; but ſhe paid dear for her ill Treatment of him. Convinced at laſt by Time, that it was impoſſible for her to raiſe her ſecond Son to the Throne, Ambition was the Office of Nature: She eldeſt Son, talked of him *He is diſſerv'd by the Queen his Mother.* *She eſpouſes his Intereſt.*

him in a different Language than before, and deſcrib'd him in fairer Colours. But it was then too late, and the Impreſſion ſhe had already made, was too deep to be effaced. It was to no purpoſe to ſollicit the Ambaſſador of *France*, to join with her in favour of Prince *James*. That Miniſter was far from entring into her Views; he had even made an Advantage of the Diviſions between the Mother and the Son, to weaken the Intereſt of the latter, and help forward the Scheme of ſetting the Crown of *Poland* upon the Head of the Prince of *Conti*. Supported by the Court of *France*, and beloved by the *Poliſh* Nobility, who allow'd him the Liberty of continuing at *Warſaw*, whilſt they perſiſted in keeping the Queen at a Diſtance, he thought it was Time to declare the Candidate, for whoſe Advancement he was ſollicitous. This he did in a Diſcourſe addreſs'd to the Diet of *Poland*. The Ambaſſador ſpoke with that ſtrong and moving Eloquence, which at the ſame time convinces and perſuades. He laid before the *Poles* the Union of *Lewis* XIV. with the late King *Sobieſki*; the Alliance of the two Nations, almoſt from Time immemorial; the great Agreement of Manners between the *French* and *Poles*; the Solidity of the Treaties made by the Republic under the Protection of *France*, and the Power and Glory of the King his Maſter, whoſe Forces he offer'd them againſt their Enemies. He concluded his Diſcourſe with flattering them as the only People, who had preſerved to themſelves the Privilege of crowning Virtue.

The Ambaſſador of France declares the Candidate he has in View.

Immediately the oppoſite Parties to the Prince of *Conti*, though divided amongſt themſelves by different Intereſts, joined together, to ſet aſide his Election. All the Courts in *Europe* reſounded the Complaints which were brought thither, and

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the Miniſters of the Allies at War with *France*, took care to ſpread them throughout all *Poland*.

Nor were theſe the only Methods made uſe of, in prejudice to the Prince of *Conti*. The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, to take off from the Zeal of *Abbé Polignac*, wrote to that Ambaſſador, to deſire he would deſiſt from any fruitleſs Attempts, and ſave the King his Maſter the Diſcredit of not ſucceeding in ſuch an Affair as this. *The Biſhop of* Cujavia *writes to the Ambaſſador to divert him from his Project.*

Abbé Polignac publiſh'd the Anſwer he gave to the Prelate's Letter. After having confuted his Objections, he draws the Character of ſuch a King as *Poland* required; deſcribes the Prince of *Conti*; compares the two Pictures, and ſhews their exact Reſemblance. He then lays open, in ſtrong Terms, the Advantages the Republic would find in the Election of a Prince of *France*, whoſe Country was divided from *Poland*, by the Interpoſition of vaſt Seas, and immenſe Territories; Advantages, which could not occur in any Princes, who, from their Neighbourhood to the Kingdom, might make them tremble for their Liberty. He then makes large Promiſes to the Nobility, and concludes with deſiring the Biſhop of *Cujavia* to embrace the Party, which was moſt favourable to the Intereſt of the Republic. *The Ambaſſador's Anſwer to the Biſhop of* Cujavia.

This Anſwer did not go without a Reply. The Author rallied the *Poles* for biting at the Golden Hook, which *France* had caſt out for them. He then diſcuſſed the Reaſons and Promiſes of the *French* Ambaſſador, and concluded with ſaying, that *Poland* wanted a King to make War upon the *Turks*, and not upon Chriſtian Princes, which could not morally be expected from the Prince of *Conti*. There were likewiſe ſent abroad ſome other Remarks upon the *French* Miniſter's Letter. But what concerned him moſt in this Affair was, reſs'd againſt him, who charged *Meets with a Reply.*

The Queen displeased with Abbé Polignac.

charged him with having ſpoke diſreſpectfully of her, upon the Biſhop of *Cujavia*'s ſaying in his Letter, that the Example of the Queen, who was a *French* Woman, diverted *Poland* from any Thoughts of advancing a *French* Prince. She complain'd of it to the *Abbé de Polignac*, in a very angry Letter. The Miniſter wrote to her Majeſty, by way of Excuſe, in Hopes to pacify her; but this Step produc'd a Reply more full of Reſentment than the former.

But theſe were not the only Contradictions *Abbé Polignac* had to ſtruggle with from the Enemies of *France*. After having alarmed the Powers of *Europe*, upon the Election of the Prince of *Conti*, and attempted to divert the Ambaſſador from the Purſuit of his Scheme, they ſent Word to the Court of *France*, That they ſuffer'd themſelves to be miſled by the Enemies of the Houſe of *Sobieſki*; that the great Hopes, which made ſuch a Shew in the Prince of *Conti*'s Eyes in *France*, were but falſe Lights in *Poland*; and that laſtly it was a mere Chimæra to imagine, that *Poland* would ever ſet a *Frenchman* upon the Throne of the Republic. The Miniſtry of *France*, without giving Ear too much to theſe Inſinuations, thought it prudent however, not to paſs them over abſolutely with Neglect. And thus *Abbé de Caſtagneres de Chateauneuf* was ſecretly diſpatched in *February*, under the Character of Envoy Extraordinary.

The Court of France applied to againſt Abbé Polignac's Scheme.

Abbé de Chateauneuf ſent into Poland.

1697. Upon his Arrival in *Poland*, in the Month of *April*, he confirmed the Hopes of the Court of *France*, and ſent Word, that two Things only were wanting to the Succeſs of the Ambaſſador's Negotiations, which were, the making good his Promiſes, and the Prince's Preſence.

Whilſt one Part of the *Poliſh* Nobility was ſelling the Crown to the Prince of *Conti*, the Palatinates of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Leopold*, propos'd a new

new Candidate; and this was *Livio Odeſcalchi*, the Nephew of Pope *Innocent* XI. This Prince made mighty Offers to the Diet; his Wealth was ſet forth with Oſtentation; and this was to be given to the Republic as an Hoſtage for the Performance of his Promiſes. *Livio Odeſcalchi, a Pretender to the Crown.*

The *Poles*, who are naturally fond of Raillery, repay'd the *Italian*'s Good-will with a Paſquinade, and the Conſiſtorial Advocate *Monti-Caſſini* his Envoy had the Vexation to ſee himſelf traduced as the Sollicitor of a Cauſe, which, they ſaid, his Maſter was proſecuting in *Poland*. To theſe Railleries they added, that *Odeſcalchi*, to gain his Point, was ſending over into *Poland* all the Curioſities of *Italy*, ſuch as the Drawings of great Maſters, and antique Statues, which were valued at conſiderable Sums in the Catalogue they then ſent abroad of them. They ſaid farther, that he deſigned a Medal of *Otho* in Braſs, for the Payment of two Quarters of the Army; and that laſtly, he would ingage to grace *Poland* with the Statues of *Paſquin* and *Morforio*, as ſoon as ever he ſhould be crown'd. *Railleries upon this Subject.*

The Prince of *Newburg* alſo appeared amongſt the Pretenders, but without Money, and far from being the Dupe of the Elector's Avarice. *The Prince of Newburg a Candidate.*

The Prince of *Baden* likewiſe, one of the greateſt Generals of his Age, offer'd himſelf in the Number of the Competitors. His Valour had ſecured the Throne of the Empire; ſav'd *Tranſilvania*, and triumphed over the *Turks* at *Salamkemen*. *Germany* ow'd to him the Safety of the Confederate Army upon the *Rhine*, and he was beſides the Lord of a Country, rich enough to ſupport its Prince without injuring his elective Dominions, and a Country ſo ſituate as to give no Umbrage to the *Poliſh* Liberty. The Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who ſerv'd him upon this Occaſion, *And the Prince of Baden.*

ſion, made him pay for his Intereſt, ing him to promiſe the Ceſſion of the of Royal *Pruſſia*, and the Diſcharge and Homage which that Prince ow for Ducal *Pruſſia*.

The Duke of Lorrain's Mother writes to the Diet, in favour of her Son.

The Duke of *Lorrain*'s Mother Diet, in favour of her Son; but eighteen Years old, and ſtripp'd of hi a Situation by no means favourable chaſing a Crown. It is not known f ſons the Elector of *Bavaria*, who mi tain'd Suffrages, of a ſudden forbo them. Some have ſaid, that he Views of the Court of *Vienna*, which ſtill to continue him at the Head of in the *Low Countries*, in Oppoſitio but the Intereſt of another does not Motive powerful enough to make o Acceptance of a Crown.

Lubomirſki, Opalinius, and Jablonowſki, pretend likewiſe to the Crown.

The Grand Marſhal of the Cro the rich Staroſt of *Nowemicyſki*, an General Count *Jablonowſki*, the firſ nator in the Kingdom, ſhewed the wiſe upon the Liſts. It was though deſpairing of the Advancement of mily, employ'd the feeble Remains ty, in favour of *Jablonowſki*, upon C by marrying of her, he ſhould give one half of the Crown, which he ow her Intereſt.

Character of the Prince of Conti.

The Prince of *Conti*, born brave, *Bourbons*, was belov'd by the People bility. He was trained up to the under the Direction of his Uncle *Condé*, and had given glorious Proof his Skill in that Science, but of withal, and a thouſand other excelle tions. Such was the King, whom

offer'd to *Poland*. And the Competitors of this Prince had indeed ſeveral Adherents, but there were united in him alone more than all the reſt could boaſt of together.

The Ambaſſador of *France* began to think, with all *Poland*, that the Prince of *Conti* would prevail over all his Competitors, when a formidable Rival roſe up, to ſtagger his Hopes. *Frederic Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, having had a Conference at *Dreſden*, with *John Przebendowſki* Caſtelan of *Culm*, who had married the Daughter of General *Fleming* the Favourite of *Auguſtus*, and ſince his firſt Miniſter, followed the Inſtructions of that *Poliſh* Gentleman. This Caſtelan, at firſt, embrac'd the Intereſt of the Prince of *Conti*; but deſigning to raiſe his Fortune by his Suffrage, and conſidering that there were a great Number in that Party, who by their Rank and Merit would naturally be preferred before him, when the Prince came to reward thoſe who had rais'd him to the Throne, he reſolved to apply himſelf to a Candidate, who ſhould owe his Advancement only to him. He was a bold Man, and made for the carrying on of an Intrigue; but is ſaid to have not been ſo brave in the Field, as in a Diet. His Alliance with *Fleming* was the Original of the Riſe of *Auguſtus*.

Frederic Auguſtus Elector of Saxony thinks of demanding the Crown of Poland.

Przebendowſki having wrote to this General, to ſend him Word what they talk'd in *Germany* of the Election of a King of *Poland*, *Fleming* made Anſwer, that the Elector of *Saxony* was deſirous of being ranked in the Number of the Pretenders to the Crown. Upon this the Caſtelan privately takes a Journey to *Dreſden*, and confers with the Elector upon the Means of ſucceeding in his Deſign. He laid before him, that the Ambaſſador of *France* was not able to get any more Money from the Bankers, ſince he had taken up 600,000

Przebendowski Castelan of Culm informs the Elector how to compass his Design.

600,000 Livres, which were already distributed among the *Poles*; that it was hardly probable the King of *France* would hazard the sending of Money *in specie*, especially at a Time when it would be difficult to hinder his Enemies from seizing upon the Supply, which they very much stood in need of, towards carrying on the War; that the Elector need only make his Offers, and he must gain the Crown; that the Nobility concerned, would be always more strongly influenc'd by ready Money, than the Sums they had either already receiv'd, or were put in Hopes of having hereafter; and that lastly, among People who sought for nothing but Money, the last Giver had always more Interest than they who had already spent their Substance upon them.

Chevalier Fleming is sent into Poland.

The Elector, pursuant to these Instructions, laid up the Funds that were necessary; and having taken his Measures with the Court of *Rome*, towards removing the Obstacle of Religion, he privately sent Colonel *Fleming* to *Warsaw*. This Minister presents the Ambassador with a Letter from the Elector. *Abbé Polignac* was surprized, when they ask'd him, if he had received no Orders from the King, with whom the Elector insinuated that he had treated by the Mediation of Cardinal *Janson*. He very civilly answer'd, That he had no Orders; that besides he did not know what Foundation the Elector had for the Enquiry; that the Hopes of the Prince of *Conti* were never in a better Situation, than at present; that his Electoral Highness was perhaps prevail'd on by the Misreports that were spread abroad, which were merely an Artifice of the Queen's; and that lastly, *France* would supply him abundantly with all the Sums of Money that were requisite upon any Occasion.

The Ambassador of France declines coming into the Elector's Scheme.

The Court of *Dreſden*, not ſatisfied with the Ambaſſador's Anſwer, went on briſkly in the Purſuit of their Scheme, which we ſhall ſoon ſee put in Execution.

In the mean while the Day fix'd for the Diet of Election drew nigh. They made haſte to finiſh the Fort and Bridge, which is uſually built over the *Viſtula*, upon the Election of a King. And laſtly, upon the 15th of *May*, the Primate open'd the Diet with the uſual Ceremonies, and the Biſhop of *Ploſko* made a Speech, to exhort the *Poles* to lay aſide caballing, and confer the Crown upon the beſt Deſerver. 1697. *The Opening of the Diet of Election.*

The Diet could come to no Concluſion, before the Election of a Director or Marſhal, whom the Greater *Poland* was to ſupply. But they could not agree about the Choice of this Officer. The Queen's Party, and the Faction of *France*, were deſirous the Election ſhould fall upon a Perſon devoted to their particular Intereſts. After great Difficulties, it was determined at laſt, to put an end to them, by referring the Election of the Marſhal to the Votes of the *Poſpolite*. *Humiecki* Marſhal of the Preliminary Diet, who for that very Reaſon was excluded from all Claim to this Dignity, collected the Voices, and the Majority inclin'd to Count *Bielinſki*. Of all the Pretenders to this Honour, this Lord was the moſt agreeable to *France*. He had married the Daughter of Count *Morſtein*, who had a great Eſtate in this Kingdom. This Lady, who had an Heart intirely *French*, had a great Intereſt amongſt the two Orders of the Nobility, and a great Aſcendant over her Husband. *Belinski choſen Marſhal of the Diet.*

A Month was ſpent in Debates, wher *Belinski* Jan. 15.
was elected Marſhal of the Di
great Aſſembly that the

to Sale. The Pretenders bid up for it to a Degree of Extravagance; but the Greedineſs of that Heap of Nobility was too great to be ſatisfied.

Intrigues of the Elector's Party. The Agent of the Elector of *Saxony* very properly diſtributed large Sums among the Nobility, and omitted nothing that might ruin the oppoſite Parties. He very artfully oppoſed the Deeds of *Saxony* to the Promiſes of *France*; and no Day paſs'd, but he found means to draw over ſome Voices from the Rivals of his Maſter. An Affair ſo well conducted, and ſupported by ſuch actual Performances, laid the Foundation of his Prince's Greatneſs. He was not ignorant that the contending Parties would each keep firm to their reſpective Candidate; but he foreſaw withal, that to avoid a Rupture, they would be at laſt obliged to caſt their Eyes upon a third Perſon, who would pay them liberally for their Voices, which the Neceſſity of coming to an Agreement would procure him from them.

The Friends of the Prince of Conti meet at the Cardinal Primate's. He was not miſtaken in his Expectations. As the Promiſes of *France* were not performed, the Friends of the Prince of *Conti*, meeting at the Cardinal Primate's, the Palatin of *Wilna* complain'd heavily of the Delays of *France*. They thought however, that the Prince's Arrival would haſten the Execution of the Ambaſſador's Promiſes; and therefore they diſpatched Letters, which were already drawn up, to preſs the Prince to make haſte into *Poland*.

Audience given to the Ambaſſadors by the After many Debates, the Diet gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors of foreign Powers. *Davia*, the Pope's Nuncio, was heard on the 20th Day of the Month, and the Biſhop of *Paſſau*, his Imperial Majeſty's Ambaſſador, was admitted on the Day following. The Subſcription of the Letter, which that Miniſter preſented from his Maſter, gave great Offence. The Addreſs was, *Inclytæ Reipu-*

blicæ

blicæ. They would have had him have added *ſereniſſimæ*; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, That he could change nothing of his own Authority. This Incident, joined to his making uſe of the Word *Vos*, inſtead of the Terms of Honour due to a Crown'd Republic, diſoblig'd the Aſſiſtants to ſo high a Degree, that they abus'd him ſharply: Notwithſtanding he continued his Diſcourſe, but with ſo much Spite and Reſentment, that his Noſe guſh'd out a bleeding, and he was oblig'd to retire.

The Biſhop of Paſſau, *Ambaſſador from the Emperor, affronted.*

Abbé Polignac, inform'd that Prince *James*'s Friends were reſolv'd to revenge upon him the Affront offer'd to the Emperor's Miniſter, inſtead of appearing at the Diet, printed his Offers, and diſtributed them ſign'd with his Hand, and ſeal'd with his Arms. By this means he did not expoſe his Dignity, and diſappointed the ill Intentions of his Enemies.

The French *Ambaſſador prevents the Affront deſign'd to be put upon him.*

Difficulties however aroſe one upon another, and the Miniſter of *France* ſtood in need of all his Ability to ſurmount them. The Biſhop of *Ploſko*, *Dzialinſki* and *Wapowſki*, came to him from the Council, and told him, that as he had not yet been able to make good his Promiſes, it ſeem'd impoſſible to avoid the Sciſſion they were apprehenſive of; and laſtly, that there was but one Way of ſecuring the Tranquillity of the Republic, and ſupporting the Honour of *France*; and this Expedient was to conſent to the Election of the Elector of *Saxony*, who would indemnify his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for all the Expences he had been at in *Poland*, and acknowledge that he ow'd his Crown to the Ambaſſador of *France*.

Inſtances of the Council to engage Abbé Polignac *to conſent to the Election of the Elector.*

But this Remonſtrance made no Impreſſion. The Caſtelan of *Kaliſch*, the Ambaſſador's intimate Friend, had been with him the Night before, and they had agreed upon an Anſ

Abbé Polignac goes to the Council, complains of the Lords, and engages them again to favour his Scheme.

given to the Deputies. *Abbé Polignac* waited upon them to the Council, and there laid open, with great Eloquence, the many Dangers, to which both Religion and the Liberty of *Poland* muſt be expos'd under a *Lutheran* and a *German* King. "Are you no longer (ſays he) apprehenſive of "a Nation, which you have ſo often excluded "the Throne? Can *Germany* hope for more "favourable Circumſtances of revenging upon "*Poland* the many abuſive, tho' juſt, Refuſals "ſhe has receiv'd, or preventing the like Affronts for the future, than by introducing Sla-"very and Lutheraniſm?" The Ambaſſador not obſerving the Aſſembly to be mov'd, found he muſt ſet other Engines at Work, to make the Impreſſions he deſign'd. Well then," continues he in a vehement Tone, "ſince you ſuffer your-"ſelves to be caſt down upon the ſlighteſt Oc-"caſion, and force me to wiſh you had more "Reſolution, we will finiſh without you the "Work you have help'd us to begin. I ſhall "not have relied in vain upon a brave Nobility; "if all their Efforts prove ineffectual, Prince "*James* ſhall be the better for your Weakneſs. "It is to him we will give the Crown. 'Tis he "ſhall aſcend the Throne, which Religion, the "Intereſt of your Liberty, and the Honour of "*France*, will not ſuffer to be enjoy'd by the "Elector of *Saxony*."

This Diſcourſe made an Impreſſion upon the Aſſembly. The Council repeated their Promiſe of ſerving the Prince of *Conti*, without any Diſſentients, except the Palatine of *Witeps*, and the Caſtelan of *Czerſke*, who were gain'd over by two thouſand Crowns, which were given them by the Caſtelan of *Culm*.

If the Ambaſſador of *France* had been furniſh'd with neceſſary Supplies of Money, the Prince of *Conti*

Conti had been King. *Potoſki*, Palatine of *Cracow*, let the Cardinal know, that if they would conſign over to him 30000 Crowns, whereof one Half ſhould be paid down, he would paſs over to the Side of *France* with all his Party. The Want of Money not allowing the Ambaſſador to purchaſe this Supply of Voices, he had the Vexation to ſee the Elector of *Saxony* buy them out of his Hands. This Example carried off *Jablonowſki*, the Grand General of the Crown, and ſome other Lords, whoſe Deſertion nevertheleſs did not ſo much weaken the *French* Faction, but that it would have prevail'd, had it not been for ſome other Accidents which interven'd.

The Demand of Potoſki, who treats with the Elector.

The Members of this Faction were guided by very different Motives. A ſmall Number ſerv'd the Prince of *Conti*, through an Admiration of his great Virtues, and the reſt out of the Hatred they bore to the late King's Family. Prince *James*, not finding his Party ſtrong enough to ſupport his Claim, abſolutely renounced all Pretenſions to the Crown. This Step took off from the Warmth of ſome Palatinates for the Prince of *Conti*, whom they recommended indeed in the firſt Place; but they afterwards did as much for the Elector of *Saxony*, whom they recommended in the ſecond.

Prince James gives up his Pretenſions.

At laſt the Term fix'd to the Diet for the Election drew nigh. The Palatinates, conſiſting of better than 100000 Noblemen, came into the Field of Election in the Plains of *Warſaw*. The Palatinates were divided into Companies, which amounted to two hundred and fifty. They were all on Horſeback, except a few Gentlemen, whom Poverty compell'd to walk on Foot. Arm'd with old ruſty Scythes, one would have taken them for a Company of Reapers; but they might be diſcern'd by the Fierceneſs of their Countenances,

Jun. 25.

and the Right of diſpoſing the Crown ſeem'd to be written on their Foreheads.

As ſoon as the Senators had harangued their Palatinates to ſound the Sentiments of the Nobility, the Palatinate of *Plosko* cry'd, *Long live* Conti, and immediately raiſed their Sabres. *Siradia*, *Reva*, and the three Palatinates of *Pruſſia* anſwer'd, *Long live* Conti: The Name of *Conti* was carried from Rank to Rank. *Przependowski*, the Soul of the Elector's Party, not liking theſe Acclamations, and ſaying to the *Pruſſians*, that *Saxony* was as good as *Conti*, narrowly eſcaped being ſhot thro' the Head by the Chamberlain of *Mariemburg*, but a Prieſt put by his Piſtol with a Cane. The Friends of *Saxony*, in a Conſternation, proteſted againſt whatever ſhould be done in too haſty an Election, and procured the Nomination to be put off till the next Day, purſuant to a Law, which requires that all the Candidates be propos'd before the Election is finiſh'd.

Acclamations of the Palatinates in favour of the Prince of Conti.

In the mean time the Miniſters of the ſeveral Competitors laboured earneſtly to bring about their Deſigns. The *French* did all they could to perſuade the Nobility, that the Elector's Converſion was a mere Fable. The *Saxons*, on the other hand, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to have it thought real. They apply'd to the Nuncio to confirm the Certificate, which the Biſhop of *Raab*, a Kinſman of the Electors, had given concerning his Converſion. But the Nuncio kept his Word with the Miniſters of *France*, and held out till the next Morning, when Circumſtances ſhewed him openly.

The Efforts of the Party of Saxony.

1726. The Cardinal Primate, according to the Cuſtom, ſaid Maſs in the Church of St. *John*; and the Biſhop of *Ploſko* made a Speech to the Aſſembly, in which he ingeniouſly let them know for what Candidate he was inclin'd; and then they all went into

into the Field of Election. The Senators being come into the *Colo*, the Cardinal Primate ſpoke with great Force and Eloquence: "The Throne "of the Republic (ſays this Prelate) requires a "King that is generous, mild, and affable; a "King, who is a Soldier and an Officer." And then he nam'd the Competitors for the Crown. He praiſed every one of them in particular, with Reference either to their perſonal Qualifications, or the Dignity of their Families. He did not mention the Elector of *Saxony*, till he had ſpoken of all the reſt; and then he ſaid, it was but good Manners not to forget that Prince, whom otherwiſe his Zeal for Lutheraniſm would exclude from the Choice of the Nobility. After this Diſcourſe, he bent one Knee to the Ground, and lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, "I "ſwear (ſays he with a loud Voice) that I will "not proclaim any Candidate to be King, who "has not the unanimous Suffrages of the Nobi-"lity; but I likewiſe conjure you not to turn "your Eyes upon any Subjects, but ſuch as de-"ſerve to be choſen." He was ſtill ſpeaking, when the Senators left their Places to put themſelves at the Head of their Palatinates. There were left in the *Colo* none but the Cardinal and the Marſhal of the Diet, who had Information brought them of what was doing from time to time, according to which they iſſued out their Orders.

The Cardinal makes mention of all the Candidates in the Colo.

At laſt, the Palatinates being ranged in Order to give their Suffrages, three Companies of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, which has the Right of proclaiming firſt, at the Solicitation of their Palatine and Caſtelan, cried out, *Long live* James *the King's Son.* One Company of the Palatinate of *Poſnania*, whoſe Privilege is to ſpeak next, followed their [illegible] but faintly. The other Com-

Prince James *is proclaim'd by ſome Companies.*

The Prince of Conti *likewise by most of the Palatinates.*

Companies of other Palatinates raised their Voices to the Skies with pronouncing the Name of *Conti*. *Wilna* return'd the Acclamations with Zeal, and was join'd by the rest of the Palatinates. Whilst the Name of *Conti* resounded in every Rank, the Word *Saxony* was heard with Surprize to interrupt the Unanimity of Voices. Two Companies of *Samogitia*, which give their Votes after the eight former Palatinates, ventur'd to nominate the Elector. The Name of a *Lutheran* Prince had like to have drawn upon them the whole Body of the Nobility; but they maintain'd with so much Assurance, that the Elector had two Years before abjured his Errors at *Rome* (a Fact they said was attested by the Nuncio himself) that they gain'd over certain *Mazovite* Gentlemen, whom *Przependowski*, for a little Brandy and a Crown a Head, had dispos'd to believe every thing.

The Elector of Saxony *has the Voices of some Companies.*

A Gentleman who expres'd his Zeal for Prince James *is shot thro' the Head.*

During these Transactions, a Gentleman of the Palatinate of *Ploſko*, desirous to shew his Zeal for the late King's Family, presum'd to nominate Prince *James*. But he was immediately shot through the Head with a Pistol Bullet, and the Prince was no more spoken of. This unjust and violent Action did not find one single Avenger amongst all that Body of Nobility, who were Eye-witnesses of the Fact.

The Strength of the Party of France.

In the mean while the Party of the Prince of *Conti* shew'd themselves every Instant. The Friends of the Elector, apprehending the Triumph of *France*, dispatch'd Messengers to the Emperor's Ambassador, pressing him to procure the Nuncio's Attestation to the Bishop of *Raab*'s Certificate, and adding, that if that could not be done, all was lost, and *Conti* would be chosen. The Nuncio readily complied with what was desired of him. And *Przependowski* ran to the As-

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sembly

ſembly with a Certificate in Form, and his Followers cried out by his Orders, that the Elector was a good Catholic, and 'twas his Holineſs's Requeſt that he ſhould be crown'd.

Great Numbers, giving Credit to theſe Declarations, took part with *Saxony*, and before Noon his Faction was ſuperior to the Parties of *Newburg*, *Lorrain*, and *Baden*. The Cardinal Primate, not being able to diſtinguiſh on which Side the Majority lay, by reaſon of the Noiſe and Tumult which confounded their Voices, order'd, that the Nobility who favour'd *Conti*, ſhould ſtand on one Side, whilſt the Friends of the other Candidates ſhould range themſelves on the other. Of two hundred and fifty Companies there were but thirty ſix, who declar'd for the Rivals of *Conti*; and the Prince muſt have been King, if the Cardinal had not wanted Courage. The Prelate gave greater Signs of Irreſolution ſome few Moments after. The Biſhops of *Cujavia*, *Poſnania*, and *Livonia*, who were in the Intereſt of the Elector of *Saxony*, retired to *Warſaw*, frighted at the Number of the *Contiſtes*, and the fierce Countenance of the Caſtelan of *Kaliſch*, who, mounted upon a War-horſe, encourag'd the Nobility to take up Arms, and cut to pieces the ſmall Number of Opponents, if they ſtill perſiſted in their Obſtinacy. Under theſe Circumſtances the Primate might have nominated without Oppoſition; but the Fear of ſhedding *Poliſh* Blood kept him unreſolv'd, and he conſented to put off the Election till the next Day, under a Pretence, that it was then too late for it.

Separation of the different Parties.

The principal Adherents to the Elector of *Saxony*, having recover'd themſelves from the Fright, which the Party of *France* had thrown them into, met at the Embaſſ
Thither alſo came the I

Pretenders, except the Ambaſſador of *France*; and there they all joined againſt the Prince of *Conti*, and agreed to ſupport the moſt powerful Party, or rather to make but one, in favour of the Elector of *Saxony*.

Several Parties join in favour of Saxony.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, every one furniſhed what Money they had by them. Theſe Sums, with the Bills of Exchange paid upon Sight by the *Jews*, amounted to eighteen hundred thouſand Livres, which were diſtributed in the Camp that Night. The Eloquence of the Senators, and the Engagements of the Nobility, could not hold againſt ſuch prevailing Motives. All the Companies, which had before ſupported the Claims of the different Candidates, went over to the Party of *Saxony*. Eleven Companies of the *French* Faction embrac'd the Cauſe of the Elector; but this Deſertion was in part repair'd by the Acquiſition of ſeven of their Companies, who ranged themſelves under the Standard of *Conti*.

After many Negotiations, the Time came at laſt for concluding the Election. The Biſhops of *Cujavia*, *Poſnania*, and *Livonia*, were ſo terrified the Night before, that they durſt not attempt any thing, and all ſeem'd to favour the Prince of *Conti*, when the Palatine of *Wielun*, who was even more irreſolute than the Cardinal, went and poſted himſelf, in Sign of Neutrality betwixt *Saxony* and *Conti*, at the Head of the Palatinate of *Volhinia*, the Diſtrict of *Wilna*, and ſome *Lithuanian* Companies. The Primate, ſurpriz'd at this Action, knew not what to think of it, but could not imagine that *Sapieha* was going to offer himſelf, after ſo many Piaſtes had been excluded. This Palatine floated all the Morning between certain Views of Ambition or Intereſt, and the Solicitations of his Friends and the Lords of his Family, who

The Palatine of Wilna divides from his Party, and joins them again.

who intreated him not to occaſion any freſh Trouble by a Change ſo little expected. At laſt, the ſame Caprice, which had divided him from the Party of *Conti*, brought him back to it rather than any of the Solicitations, to which he ſeem'd to yield.

Sapieha's Return having taken away all Hope from the *Saxons*, of making any Advantage of the Irreſolution and Cowardice of that Palatine, they ſought ſtill to put off the Election. *Gorowſki*, Caſtelan of *Gneſna*, advanced between the two Parties, and made a Sign that he had ſomething to communicate to the *French* Faction. The Biſhop of *Kiow*, who was deputed to hear him, brought back Word, that his Party demanded a Conference in the midſt of the *Colo*, in the Preſence of the Primate and the Marſhal.

The Party of Saxony confers with that of France.

This being conſented to, the Deputies of *Saxony* propoſed to give up *Saxony*, *Newburg*, *Lorrain*, *Bavaria*, and the Royal Family, provided the oppoſite Party would abandon *Conti*. This was only an Artifice to gain Time; and thus they made no Difficulty of ſeeming to accept of their Propoſition. At the Time to ſound them, and make them throw off the Maſk, they offer'd the Prince of *Baden*. *Jablonowſki* rejected him, becauſe he was propos'd by *Lubormiſki*. The Biſhop of *Ploſko*, returning from *Warſaw*, whither he had been to talk over this Matter with *Abbé Polignac*, to confound *Jablonowſki* the more, declar'd in favour of the Prince of *Baden*. The Palatines were highly diſpleas'd at theſe new Propoſals, but Pains were taken to make them comprehend, that they were offer'd with no other View, than to expoſe the oppoſite Party; theſe Excuſes however were not ſatisfactory to them, and they call'd out loudly upon the Primate to put an End to the Election.

The Propoſals of the Party of Saxony *accepted.*

The Prince of Baden *propoſed by the Party of* France.

The Deſigns of the Party of Saxony *expoſed.*

This

The Biſhop of Cujavia's *Letter to the Primate.*

This Prelate was upon the Point of giving the Benediction, when a Letter was put into his Hands from the Biſhop of *Cujavia*. He read it loud enough to be heard by thoſe who ſtood near him. In this Letter the Biſhop of *Cujavia* threatened a Sciſſion of forty Companies in favour of *Saxony*, in caſe they nominated the Prince of *Conti*, aſſuring the Cardinal notwithſtanding, that he would in no wiſe have encroach'd upon the Rights of his Primacy, if he had not been compell'd to it by Force.

Menaces of a Sciſſion.

The Indignation of the Nobility againſt the Party of Saxony.

The Nobility, enrag'd at the Stiffneſs of an handful of obſtinate People, redoubled their Importunities to have this great Affair brought to a Concluſion. And the Primate at laſt, being no longer able to reſiſt their preſſing Inſtances, declar'd that the Republic made Choice of *Francis Lewis de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, to be King of *Poland* and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

The Prince of Conti *elected.*

Jun. 27.

The oppoſite Party not daring to ſtir, for fear of being cut to pieces by the greater Number, waited till the Multitude was diſperſed; and then the Biſhop of *Cujavia* with forty Companies, being under no farther Apprehenſion, nominated *Frederic Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*. This News was brought to the Cardinal, as he was returning to his Palace, after having ſung *Te Deum* in the Church of St. *John* at *Warſaw*. He was advis'd to uſe violent Methods againſt the Mutineers; but his natural Mildneſs diverted him from it.

The Elector of Saxony *choſen.*

The Biſhop of *Cujavia*, having ſung *Te Deum* i the Place of Election, came to *Warſaw*, .e he repeated that Ceremony in the Church St. *John*; and being deſirous to obſerve, in ſhew at leaſt, all the Rules that were uſual in an Action of that Conſequence, he took great Care

to

to make Reparation for a Fault, which he had committed through over-much Haſte, in nominating the Elector out of the Electoral Camp. He return'd thither early the next Morning, and repeated the Nomination, as if that Step could have ſet all right. And laſtly, to give the finiſhing Stroke to what he was about, he adminiſtred the Oath, for obſerving the *Pacta Conventa*, to the Chevalier *Fleming* by ſix o' Clock, who took upon himſelf the Character of Envoy Extraordinary.

The Biſhop of Cujavia *repeats the Nomination of the Elector of* Saxony.

The Day after the Election there paſſed ſome Conferences between the two Parties. It was propos'd to obſerve the Laws of the Kingdom, which require that none of the Competitors nominated ſhould ſet Foot in the Kingdom till after the Diet of Confirmation; but the Friends of *Saxony* depending upon the Proximity of the Elector, and ſecure of the Diſtance of his Rival, refus'd abſolutely to comply with thoſe Propoſitions.

Conferences between the two Parties.

During the Courſe of theſe Debates, *Abbé Polignac* had diſpatch'd a Courier into *France*, to preſs for the Departure of the Prince, and ſuch Supplies of Money as were neceſſary to keep the Lords firm in his Party. This Courier, who was the Ambaſſador's Secretary, to make a Merit of the good News he brought, diſguiſed the Truth, and repreſented the Party oppoſite to the Prince of *Conti* as an inſignificant Handful of People, adding, that the new King ſhould wait for the Embaſſy of the Republic. But a ſecond Courier, who arriv'd within two Days after, ſet Matters in a true Light, and the Prince prepar'd for his Journey, but did not ſet out till the Cardinal had given him Notice of his Election under his Hand. The Prelate's Letter was to have been brought by the preceding [illegible], who was to have giv[illegible] thin

Jun. 14. *Couriers diſpatch'd into* France.

two Days after, kept it to carry himself: And it may be, these little Circumstances, which delay'd the Prince's Departure, might in great measure occasion the ill Success of this Affair.

In the mean time, the Profusion of the Elector of *Saxony* daily increased the Number of his Followers; besides, he was upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. The Prince of *Conti*'s Friends, affrighted to see him so near them, told the *French* Ambassador, that the Instrument of Election should not be given into his Hands, till he had paid off the four Quarters of the Army; and if those Clauses could not be fill'd, he had nothing to do but to countermand the Prince.

Declaration of the Poles to the Ambassador of France.

A Declaration so little expected, threw the Ambassador into the utmost Confusion, and he determined to inform the Court of *France* of the Resolution of the Lords. This News again put off the Prince's Journey. Preparations however were making for his Departure, and he embark'd at last at *Dunkerque*, on board the little Squadron of Chevalier *Bart*, attended by the Chevaliers *d' Angouleme*, *Sillery*, *Lanzun*, and twenty Gentlemen. The Prince carried with him an 100000 Louis d'Ors, Bills of Exchange payable upon Sight for the like Sum, and a great Number of Jewels. He anchored before *Oliva*, and was saluted with three Discharges of Cannon from the Fort of *Weychelmunde*. These were all the Honours which *Dantzick* paid the Prince. The Magistrate of the City had dispos'd the Inhabitants to favour the Elector. The Majority of the Citizens declar'd for him, and even insulted the Officers of the *French* Squadron. To revenge the Affront, they laid hold upon five Merchant Ships, which lay in the Road; and the Magistrates, by way of Repriſal, seiz'd upon all the Effects of the *French*, and carried their Resent-

Departure of the Prince of Conti.

He arrives at Dantzick Sept. 28.

ments

ments ſo far as to ſell the Horſes of the Ambaſſador of *France* to the higheſt Bidder.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Ambaſſador was uſing all poſſible Endeavours to open the Way for the Prince of *Conti*'s Entrance into *Poland*. The Lords of the Houſe of *Sapieha* had engag'd for the Sum of 400000 Livres, to ſend the Prince a Guard of twelve Companies under the Command of the Grand Treaſurer's Son; and then the Grand General of *Lithuania*, and all the Officers of the Army, were to take the Oath, and march with their Troops to the Place which ſhould be appointed. But firſt of all the Prince was oblig'd to pay them four hundred and ſixty thouſand Livres.

The Ambaſſador having thus taken all neceſſary Meaſures, went on board the *French* Squadron. The Prince's Friends, who came to ſee him, advis'd him to go to *Mariemburg* or *Lowitz*, but he choſe rather to wait for the coming up of the *Sapieha*'s. Couriers were continually paſſing, which brought Word, that they were juſt at hand with ſome *Lithuanian* Senators, who, in Conjunction with the *Poliſh* Embaſſy, were to preſent the Crown to the Prince of *Conti*.

Octob. 1

The Prince waits on board for Troops that were promiſ'd him

The Elector of *Saxony*, before the Arrival of his Competitor, had received an Embaſſy from his Party at *Tarnowitz*, upon the Frontiers of *Sileſia*; and marching from thence to *Pickari*, he there repeated the Abjuration of his Errors before *Criſpin* Biſhop of *Samogitia*. There he ſwore to the Obſervance of the *Pacta Conventa*, and there alſo he received the Compliments of the Nobility, whom he aſſured of his paternal Tenderneſs for his new Subjects. From thence, advancing as far as *Cracow*, he purchaſed the Delivery of the Caſtle of Count *Wielopolſki* for five thouſand Crowns, and

The Elector of Saxony receives an Embaſſy from his Party

He

a

a Necklace, which he presented to the Count's Lady.

Aug. 26. *The Diet of Confirmation held by the Cardinal.*

The Cardinal Primate, on his part, went with the Nobility of the *French* Party into the Electoral Camp, and there held the Diet of Confirmation. They next resolv'd upon a Confederation against the Elector of *Saxony*; and then breaking up the Inclosure of the Camp, to prevent the Meetings of the opposite Party in a Place of such Authority, the Primate return'd to *Warsaw*, where he caused the Confederation to be sign'd by Prince *Sapieha*, the Senators, Deputies, and Nobility of his Party. They had likewise enter'd into a Negotiation with the Elector, tho' without any Effect, to put off his Coronation, which was perform'd on the 15th of *September*. The Diet after this Ceremony had been quietly closed, the new King had already fill'd several Posts, and his Party had taken a Resolution to meet at *Warsaw* within six Weeks.

The Confederation of the Party of France sign'd by the Senators and Nobles.

Octob. 1.

The Lampoons of the Poles upon the present Affairs.

It is not below an Historian to take Notice of a Circumstance that may let us into the Knowledge of the Genius of the *Poles*, who are sometimes satisfied with revenging by a Jest the Injuries that are offer'd to the Liberties of the Nation. As soon as the Elector was crown'd, a Pasquinade was sent abroad under the Title of the *Comedy of Cracow*, in five Acts, with the Arguments of each Act. The first was a King without a Diploma; the second a Funeral Solemnity without a Corpse; the third a Coronation without a Primate; the fourth a Diet without Deputies; and the fifth Protestations without Effect. The Elector was not much displeased with such a Revenge as this, and would have been glad, if all the *Poles* had oppos'd no other Arms against his growing Power.

The

The Cardinal took all proper Meaſures to prevent his aſcending the Throne, which had already coſt him too dear to part with it without ſome Concern. This Prelate therefore having aſſembled the Confederates, recall'd the *Univerſalia* iſſued out for the General Aſſembly appointed to meet upon the 26th of *September*, and call'd together three particular Meetings upon the 10th of *October* in three different Places, in order to divide the Forces of the Enemy, in caſe they attempted to diſturb the Aſſemblies.

Aſſemblies called by the Cardinal.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conti* waited for the Execution of the Promiſes of *Sapieha*. The Elector, inform'd that his Rival was determined not to land before the Arrival of regular Troops, took all poſſible Care to prevent his Deſcent. *Galecki*, Palatine of *Inowloclaw*, march'd into *Pruſſia*, by his Orders, at the Head of 3000 Horſe. This Precaution ſucceeded as *Auguſtus* deſired; for the Princes *Sapieha*, fearing to encounter with this Body of Horſe, let the Primate know they had taken a Reſolution not to ſet forward, for fear, as they ſaid, they ſhould expoſe their Troops to Slaughter.

The Elector ſends a Body of Troops to prevent the landing of the Prince of Conti.

Notwithſtanding theſe Diſappointments, the Prince of *Conti* prepar'd to quit his Veſſels, to put himſelf at the Head of 1500 Horſe, which the Staroſt of *Sondek* had aſſured him were upon their March. But this Reſolution was put off by the Arrival of the *Saxons*, who were divided into two Bodies, and march'd ſtrait to *Oliva* and *Mariemburg*. Their Arrival kept the Prince on board. He had already told the *Poles*, that he would return to *France*, if his Party did not make haſte to perform their Promiſes. At laſt, tired out with the *Poliſh* Delays, ariſing from Deliberations, and increaſed by ſuch perpetual Counſels, as are ſpent in Preliminaries, he weighed Anchor, and

Nov. 9. The Prince returns to

and ſet ſail for *France*. But this was not done till he was reduced to the laſt Extremity; for he had the Vexation to ſee the Abbey of *Oliva* plundered, and forty of his Domeſticks loſt, who were taken Priſoners by the *Saxons*.

His Letters to the Primate and the Republic.

Before his Departure, he wrote two Letters, one to the Primate, and the other to the Republic. In the former he return'd Thanks to the Prelate for the Warmth wherewith he had eſpouſed his Cauſe, and expreſs'd his Concern, that his Eminence, and ſo many other worthy Men, ſhould ſuffer upon his Account. But though his Rival was preferr'd before him, he comforted himſelf in this, that being a Prince of the Blood of *France*, he did not ſtand in need of the Splendor of a Crown. He added, that he gave up *Poland* to the Elector much againſt his Inclination, and forced to it by the Failure of their Promiſes, who had engag'd to ſend Forces to his Aſſiſtance. But in his Letter to the Republic, he wrote in another Tone. He there accuſed the Great Men with Breach of Faith, after earneſt Solicitations on their part, and charged them with inviting him into *Poland* on purpoſe to be affronted.

Auguſtus finding himſelf freed from the Apprehenſions of his Rival, began at laſt to take Breath, and turn'd his Thoughts towards the Confirmation of his Authority, by all thoſe Ceremonies which impoſe upon the People. For this reaſon he made his Entry into *Warſaw*. When this was over, he ſtrove by all poſſible Means to gain the Cardinal, who ſeem'd diſpoſed to acknowledge him. The Prelate went ſo far as to promiſe, that he would promote his Intereſt in the *Rokoſz*, or Aſſembly of the Confederates he had call'd together. *Auguſtus* was happy in having to do with a Man, who was govern'd by Circumſtances; and he ſtood in need of the Cardinal; for in the Diet

Auguſtus makes his Entry into Warſaw, Jan. 13.

of

of Pacification, which that Prince had call'd together at *Warſaw*, of the twenty Perſons who came thither, including both Senators and Deputies, twelve had proteſted againſt him the firſt Day, which had broke up the Diet, and given a convincing Proof that he had but a ſmall Number of Followers, and was by no means choſen by the almoſt unanimous Conſent of all the *Poles*, as ſome Libels ventur'd to aſſert. *The Diet of Pacification aſſembled and broke up.*

The *Rokoſz*, which was then held at *Lowitz*, was as full as the Diet of Pacification had been empty. The King's Deputies were oblig'd to aſk for other Letters and other Powers, becauſe the Title of Commiſſioners which they bore, and ſome other Terms in them, gave Offence to that haughty Body of Nobility, who look upon themſelves, in ſome meaſure, as in a Condition to impoſe Laws upon the Prince who calls himſelf their King. At laſt they received the Letters of *Auguſtus*, and offer'd to acknowledge his Authority, upon the Conditions that were then drawn up. They contain'd twenty Articles, and abſolutely tied up his Majeſty's Hands. His Deputies, not caring to ſubject their Maſter to ſuch hard Terms, did all they could to engage the Aſſembly to make ſome Abatements in the Rigour of the Conditions. But all they could obtain was to leſſen their Number; and thus they were oblig'd to expect from Time, what they could not obtain from the Inflexibility of the *Rokoſz*. Feb. 18. *The Rokoſz held at Lowitz.* *Conditions offer'd to the King.*

The Pope, deſirous, upon ſome account or other, to intermeddle with the Affair of *Poland*, had diſpatch'd a Nuncio extraordinary, who preſented a Letter to the Cardinal from his Holineſs. The Pontif offer'd, by his Miniſter, to be the Mediator between the King and the Republic. The Primate made Anſwer, that tho' he was ſubject to the Pope in Matters Spiritual, he beſought him Feb. 26. *The Pope writes to the Cardinal Primate.* *The Primate's*

him, not to concern himſelf in Polish affairs relating the Republic; for he ſhould think he deſerv the Reproaches of the Nobility, and ſhould b come a Traitor to his Country, if ever he g up its Intereſt.

Auguſtus was very deſirous to put an End the Diviſions which kept him ſtill in Suſpe

The Diet of Pacification. With theſe Views he call'd a Diet of Pacifi tion, to meet on the 16th of *April*. His circul Letters, which were ſent abroad upon this Oc ſion, were full of mighty Schemes and fine Pr miſes; but the *Poles* were as yet too wary to caught by ſuch Baits, which uſually catch t only who are diſpoſed to be ſo caught. Th Diet aſſembled at the Time appointed; but o the two hundred, who ought to have been pr ſent, there came thither only thirty Deputies

The Deputies of the Diet demand a general Aſſembly. certain Palatinates in *Poland* and *Lithuania*. H was no ſooner open'd, than the moſt Part o them roſe up, and demanded the Convocation a General Aſſembly in the open Field, an threaten'd to retire, in caſe of Refuſal. Th ſoon after did as they ſaid, and there was no Po ſibility of getting them together again.

In the mean while *Auguſtus* exerciſed as many kingly Acts as he had Opportunity of doing; a particularly appear'd in the Caſe of *Oginſki* Grand Enſign of *Lithuania*, and *Sapieha* the Grand Ge neral of that Duchy, whom he forbad to decide their Quarrel by Force of Arms, and adviſed r ther to make up their Differences in an amicable manner.

This Prince, who had already given a public Audience to the Pope's Nuncio Extraordinary, engag'd him to intercede with the Cardinal, and

The Primate diſpos'd to acknowledge Auguſtus. diſpoſe him to Peace. The Cardinal, who an Enemy to Troubles, through his n midity, promis'd to do all that la-

to pacify them. In ſhort, he called together a new Aſſembly of the Confederates at *Lowitz*, who met upon the Day appointed by the *Univerſalia*, which were publiſh'd on this Occaſion; and the Primate ſo artfully introduc'd into the Aſſembly the favourable Sentiments he had for *Auguſtus*, that at laſt a Treaty was concluded with him, by which he engaged to give authentic Proofs of his Catholiciſm; to diſpatch the *Lutheran* Miniſters, and to reſtore by a ſolemn Act the Liberty of Votes in all future Elections. He farther promis'd, never to demand back from the Republic, the Sums he had beſtow'd upon his Party; to pay what was due to the Army, and to recover the conquer'd Places which had been taken from *Poland*. This Treaty likewiſe oblig'd him to ſend back his *Saxons*, and to repair the Damages they had done. It farther contained ſome other Articles, tending to the Good of *Poland*. One ſingle Deputy of the Palatinate of *Sendomir* withdrew from the Aſſembly; but no Regard was paid to his Proteſtations, as the Aſſembly was not a Diet, but a free *Rokoſz*, which could not be broke up by the Retreat of any Diſſentients. The Cardinal would not have been ſo eaſy, but the Court of *France* advis'd him to come to an Accommodation with *Auguſtus*, and beſides, he had no other Part to take.

May 5.

A Treaty made with Auguſtus.

It was on the 16th of *May* this great Affair was concluded, which ſupplied whatever was wanting in the Election of *Auguſtus*, who can be look'd upon only from that Time as the lawful King; the Nomination of the Biſhop of *Cujavia*, and all the Steps which followed, being manifeſtly contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

One would think, that after this Treaty, the King ſhould have been ſecure againſt the Reſt- [illegible] who had ſign'd it, and

that as ſoon as he had recovered *Kaminiec* and *Podolia*, he ſhould have ſent back his *Saxons* into their own Country; but thro' a perpetual Diſtruſt of a People, whom he found to comply only with the Time, he ſought for Pretences to retain his Army in *Poland*, notwithſtanding the Animoſity of the *Poles* againſt the *Saxons*.

Motives of the War with Sweden.

The *Muſcovites* and *Poles* were by no means pleas'd to ſee *Livonia* ſubject to the *Swediſh* Yoke. This Province, which had formerly belong'd to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, had been the Cauſe of a long War between three Nations. The Peace of *Oliva*, at laſt, divided the Quarrel in favour of *Sweden*, which had long been in Poſſeſſion of that fertile Country. A young King was then upon the Throne of *Sweden*; and the firſt Impreſſions which foreign Miniſters had taken of that Monarch, had produc'd only a Contempt for him in the Courts of *Europe*. Theſe Circumſtances induc'd the Czar of *Muſcovy* and the King of *Poland* to break the Treaty of *Oliva*.

Aug. 10. Theſe two Monarchs had an Interview at *Riga*, and concluded an Alliance, which had like to have ended in both their Ruins, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

The Treaty of Carlowitz.

Auguſtus ſtood in need of this Pretence, to keep a *Saxon* Army in *Poland*. The Treaty, which was lately concluded at *Carlowitz*, would have oblig'd him to ſend back his Troops. By this Treaty the Grand Signior conſented to the Reſtitution of *Kaminiec*, *Podolia*, and all the other Places, which had been taken from the *Poles*.

1699. Jan. 26.

Jan. 16. *A General Diet at Warſaw.*

Before the Execution of this Treaty, a General Diet was held at *Warſaw*, where the King attended regularly in Perſon. He had at laſt the Satisfaction of ſeeing what he had long waited for, the Act of his Election, ſign'd by the Cardinal Primate and the Grand Chamberlain *Bielinſki*

linſki. And having then diſpos'd of ſeveral conſiderable Poſts, he made a Viſit to his hereditary Dominions, where he ſettled the Affairs which required his Preſence, and returned to *Warſaw.* The Day after his Return, he aſſembled the Senators, who were then in the Town, and laid before them the Advantage which would ariſe from the Conqueſt of *Riga*, the Capital City of *Livonia*, and the Neceſſity of aſſiſting in that Enterprize.

Auguſtus viſits Saxony, March 24, 1700.

Whilſt *Auguſtus* was amuſing the *Poles* with ſpecious Pretences, *Charles* XII. King of *Sweden* forc'd the King of *Denmark*, who had privately conſpired his Ruin, with the *Pole* and *Muſcovite*, to do Juſtice to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Holſtein.* The young King then learnt, that the King of *Poland*, deſpairing to conquer the indefatigable Experience of Count *d'Alberg* the Governor of *Riga*, an Officer who had all the Fire and Activity of Youth at the Age of fourſcore, had rais'd the Siege of that Place. *Auguſtus* eagerly laid hold of an Opportunity which preſented itſelf, of withdrawing with Honour from the falſe Step wherein he was engag'd. The States General, deſiring him, by their Ambaſſadors, to ſpare a Place wherein the *Dutch* had conſiderable Effects, he made a Merit of deſiſting from an Enterprize, which he had Cauſe to fear would miſcarry.

War with Sweden.

The Siege of Riga *raiſed.*

The King of *Poland* was not the only Enemy who then fell upon the King of *Sweden. Peter Alexiowitz* Czar of *Muſcovy*, ravag'd *Ingria* with an Army of 100,000 Men, and laid Siege to *Narva*, in the midſt of the Ice and Snow, which at that time cover thoſe Climates.

Narva *beſieged*, Oct. 1.

Upon the News of this Siege, *Charles* XII. whoſe inſuperable Courage and Reſolution, the Source of all his Misfortunes, were increas'd by his late Succeſs, croſs'd the Sea with two hundred Tranſports. The young Conqueror march'd

The King of Sweden *marches to relieve* Narva.

ſtreight to *Narva*, at the head of four thouſand Horſe, and a like Number of Foot. He routed an advanc'd Guard of 5000 *Muſcovites*, poſted in his Way, and put all to Flight before him. A Body of 20000 Men durſt not wait his coming up, and 30000 *Muſcovites*, plac'd within a League of the Camp, were carried away with the Torrent of the flying Soldiers, and retired to the Intrenchments. *Charles* XII. appears within View of the Camp, makes a Breach in the Intrenchments, enters with his eight thouſand *Swedes*, and takes almoſt all the *Muſcovites* of the Right Wing Priſoners: The reſt ran to bury themſelves under the Ruins of the Bridge of the River of *Narva*, which broke down under them. The Generals of the Enemy laid their Arms at the Conqueror's Feet, who kept them Priſoners alone, whilſt the Soldiers were diſmiſs'd, to terrify their Fellow-Countrymen with an Account of the Battle. The Enemy's Left Wing, which was ſtill ſubſiſting, came and ſurrender'd the next Morning, to the Number of 30000 Men, whom *Charles* likewiſe permitted to return into *Muſcovy*.

The Muſcovites defeated.

This great Victory diſturb'd the Meaſures of the *Czar* and *Auguſtus*. The latter ſoon expected to ſee the King of *Sweden* in *Poland* repay, with Fire and Sword, the Ravages of *Livonia* and *Ingria*. It was neceſſary to raiſe up Banks, to oppoſe this Torrent; and this was the Occaſion of the Interview of theſe two Allies at *Birzen* a ſmall Town in *Lithuania*. *Auguſtus* promis'd the Czar 50000 *German* Troops, which he undertook to hire of the Princes of the Empire, and the Czar was to pay them. The Czar, on his ſide, agreed to ſend a like Number of *Muſcovites* into *Poland*, to be trained up there in military Diſcipline; and farther engag'd, in two Years Time, to ſupply *Auguſtus* with nine Millions of Livres.

1701. *The Treaty of the King of* Poland *with the Czar.*

This

This Treaty, which was concluded without the Conſent of the Republic, was by no means approved of by the *Poliſh* Nobility. The General Diet, which was open'd at *Warſaw* on the 30th of *May*, deſired *Auguſtus* to ſend back the *Saxon* Troops, and make Peace with *Sweden*; to remove the *Germans* from the Council Board, and appeaſe the Troubles of *Lithuania*. The King's Anſwer could not calm the Uneaſineſs o the Nobility, who were jealous of their Liberty; and the Diet divided into ſeveral little Provincial Aſſemblies, where none but *Poles* were preſent, with a View of providing a more ſecure Remedy for the Ills of which they were apprehenſive. All the Deputies joined in demanding the Convocation of a new General Diet, at ſuch Time as the King pleas'd, who fix'd it to the 22d of *December*.

A General Diet at Warſaw.

Charles XII. inform'd of the Deſigns of the Czar and King of *Poland*, haſtened into *Livonia*, that he might be beforehand with his Enemies. He arrived near *Riga*, upon the Banks of the *Duna*, over againſt the *Saxon* Army, which lay encamp'd on the other Side of the River. His Troops croſs'd it on Boats of the King's Invention, whoſe Sides were moveable, and might be lifted up, or let down, like Draw-bridges, and ſo be of uſe to cover the Troops in their Paſſage, and favour their Deſcent, when they came to land. A thick Smoak from a large Heap of wet Straw, which the King cauſed to be ſet on Fire, ſo blinded the Enemy, that they could not diſcern the Paſſage of his Troops.

The King of Sweden arrives in Livonia.

The *Saxon* Army was commanded by the Duke of *Courland*, and Marſhal *Stenau*. That brave Officer fell upon the *Swediſh* Battalions with his Horſe, before they were quite drawn up, and drove them into the River; but being ſoon rallied by the King, they advanc'd with ſuch Fury againſt

The Saxons are beaten. the Marſhal, that they oblig'd him likewiſe to retreat. The *Saxon* Army retired to an advantageous Ground, where it was attack'd and beaten by the Enemy. After an obſtinate and bloody Combat on both Sides, the Conquerors took *Mitau*, the Capital City of *Courland*, and the reſt of the Towns in that Duchy open'd their Gates without any Reſiſtance. The King did no more to gain all *Lithuania*; and it was at *Birzen*, in that Duchy, that this implacable Prince laid the Scheme of dethroning *Auguſtus*.

The King of Sweden's Conqueſts in Courland.

Auguſtus's Misfortune rouz'd up his ſecret Enemies. They ſought to make an Advantage of his Circumſtances, to prejudice him. The King, who ſtood more in need of an Army than Councils and Deliberations, was notwithſtanding forc'd to hold the Diet, which was appointed to meet on the 22d of *December*. In this Aſſembly, the Spirit of Liberty, which prevails in *Poland*, broke out before the King, in a Language never heard by other Princes. He ſaw his Subjects openly working againſt him, under a Pretence of the Public Good, and was oblig'd to bear with the Pride and Haughtineſs of that free People, who make choice of a Maſter, leſs with a View of being govern'd, than of governing themſelves; of increaſing their own Authority, borrowing his Name, to execute their own private Quarrels, and making themſelves conſiderable in the State, by taking part with him, or againſt him. One may ſay, that, in ſuch a Government, the principal Subjects are Tyrants over their Kings.

1701. *The General Diet at Warſaw.*

Character of the Poliſh Lords.

The Conduct of *Auguſtus* had not a little contributed to take off from the Affection of his Friends, and exaſperate his Enemies, who were greatly increaſed in Number. However, ſome Palatinates ſtill expreſs'd Zeal enough for him, to make him believe that he might arm the *Poliſh* Nobi-

Nobility againſt the *Swedes*. And thus he founded his Hopes upon the Army of the Republic: But theſe Hopes were ſoon blown over, and he grew perfectly ſenſible, that his Authority in the Diet was of little Conſequence, the moſt Part of the Members making no Scruple to own they were in the Intereſt of the King of *Sweden*, and that not ſo much out of Friendſhip to him, as Hatred to the King, whom they ſuſpected of ſome Deſign upon their Liberties. They went ſo far as to complain againſt him; to charge him with the Troubles of *Lithuania*, and accuſe him as the Author of all the Ills which had fallen upon the State. Amongſt other Debates, they talk'd of ſending an Embaſſy to the King of *Sweden*, in the Name of the Republic: But before this Point was carried, the Diet broke up, by the Retreat of a Deputy.

The Reſolution of the Diet. 1702. Feb. 7.

In the mean time *Auguſtus* had preſſing need of Succours. He was not ignorant that the Diets, Councils, in fine all the Aſſemblies of the *Poles*, ſought to degrade his Authority, or rather to annul it: But, upon ſome Occaſions, it is Policy in a Prince, to wink at an Incroachment upon his Rights, that he may one Day have it in his Power to reſtore them. With theſe Views *Auguſtus* call'd together a Council of the Senate. The Members of this Aſſembly were better Courtiers than that vaſt Tribe of Nobility, which had ſo openly declared their Animoſity againſt the King, and, under the Pretence of reconciling his Intereſt with the Security of the Republic, gave a more certain Stab to his Authority. They at laſt concluded upon the Embaſſy debated in the Diet, and reſolv'd to arm the Nobility, that they might be ready upon occaſion.

When *Auguſtus* was ſure of the Senate's Reſolution, he ſtreight determin'd to be beforehand with the Embaſſy of the Republic. He had too

The Embaſſy of the Republic to the K. of Sweden reſolv'd on.

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much Cause to fear, that his Interest would be slightly regarded, if not wholly overlook'd, or, it may be, mention'd only to be intirely ruin'd.

The Countess of Koningsmar visits the Swedish Camp.

He had not been able to resist the Wit and Beauty of the Countess of *Koningsmar*, a *Swedish* young Lady, of a great Family. He made choice of her, to be his Mediator with *Charles* XII. and thought that a young Conqueror could deny her nothing. Having received her Instructions from *Augustus*, she went to the *Swedish* Camp in *Lithuania*; but *Charles* XII. refusing obstinately to see her, she returned to *Augustus*, who was however not disheartened by this rigid Inflexibility of his Enemy. He dispatched his Chamberlain *Wiczdumb* with fresh Instructions to the King of *Sweden*; but when he came within View of the Camp, he was seized, as coming from an Enemy; and having no other Passport, this second Attempt proved fruitless.

Charles refuses to see her.

Augustus has recourse to the Senate.

The King of *Poland* was therefore forc'd to have recourse to the Senate, tho' his Enemy; but he soon experienc'd that he had nothing agreeable to expect from them: For having offer'd to call in 12000 *Saxons*, and to put himself at the Head of the Army of the Republic, upon the Conditions of paying two Quarters beforehand, out of his own private Purse, all the Answer he could get, was, that the Republic would send an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, to procure Peace; and as for the *Saxons*, his Majesty could not introduce them into *Poland*, without intirely disobliging the whole Nation.

Charles XII. his Answer to the Embassy of the Republic.

The Embassy of the Republic was not more favourably treated by *Charles* XII. who was by no means pleased that they had still any thing to do with *Augustus*. He answer'd, that he would let the Senate know what he thought of their Propositals, when he came to *Warsaw*. And the same

ſame Day he ſet forward on his March towards that City, preceded by a Manifeſto, in which he was declared the Friend and Protector of the Republic.

Upon the Approach of the King of *Sweden*, the Friends of *Auguſtus* deſerted him thro' Weakneſs, his Enemies that they might withdraw from his Reproaches, and raiſe him up more Adverſaries at a Diſtance; and all through a Jealouſy of the Royal Authority, which the *Poles* look upon as a Monſter, ever ready to devour their Liberty.

Auguſtus, before he left *Warſaw*, got Leave from the few Senators who were left about him, to introduce ſix thouſand *Saxons*, and diſpoſe of the Troops of the Republic. He likewiſe gave Orders for the Nobility to take the Field, but to no purpoſe. The Hatred they bore him, and the Terror of the *Swediſh* Arms, kept the *Poles* upon their Eſtates, where they waited for the Iſſue of this great Affair. Being thus deſerted by his Subjects, he had recourſe to other Meaſures. Twenty thouſand *Saxons* enter'd *Poland* by his Order; and he gave himſelf little Concern about exaſperating a Nation which betray'd him; offending Enemies, who ſought his Ruin; or raiſing the Murmurs of ſome weak and fearful Friends, who gave him no other Proof of their Affection, than that they were not his Enemies.

Saxon Troops brought into Poland.

The King of *Sweden*, on his Side, prepared to give his Enemy a good Reception. He let the Cardinal Primate into his Intentions at *Warſaw*, who was the ſecret Enemy of *Auguſtus*, and forced to ſubmit to him, againſt his Inclination, but ſtill more a Friend to the Liberty of his Country, which he thought in Danger, under the Ad-

Prince, who, contrary to his Engage-

Engagements, had over-run *Poland* with foreign Troops. This Prelate was come to *Warſaw*, with the Leave of *Auguſtus* himſelf, who indeed could not deny it him. He went thither, under a Pretence of diſpoſing the King of *Sweden* to an Accommodation; but, in Reality, perhaps, to ſtrike the laſt Blow, and deprive a Prince of the Crown, who had tranſgreſſed the Laws of the Nation. Being admitted to an Audience of the King of *Sweden*, he had a Quarter of an Hour's private Conference with his Majeſty, who ſaid aloud, That he would give no Peace to *Poland*, till they had made choice of another King. Whether the Cardinal was ſtruck with this Declaration, upon ſeeing Matters ſo nigh, or that he had a mind to conceal the Joy, which might ariſe from a Reſolution that ſecur'd the Liberty of his Country, but he ſeem'd to be very much troubled at it. However, he gave Notice of it to the Palatinates, by which Means he diſcover'd, in ſome meaſure, his real Sentiments.

The King of Sweden *declares, he will give no Peace to* Poland, *till* Auguſtus *is dethroned.*

Auguſtus found it was now no longer Time to deliberate, and that his Crown depended upon the Fate of a Battle. The two Armies met near *Cliſſow*, between *Warſaw* and *Cracow*. The Victory was obtained by *Charles* XII. who, purſuing his Enemy as far as *Cracow*, entred the City, and the Caſtle ſurrendred at Diſcretion.

The Battle of Cliſſow, *Jul.* 13.

An Accident, which happen'd to the King of *Sweden*, had like to have chang'd the Face of Affairs. His Horſe broke his Thigh, as he was marching out of *Cracow*, which oblig'd him to keep his Bed ſix Weeks. It was ſpread over all *Europe*, that he was trampled to death under his Horſe's Feet. This falſe Report gave Life to the Followers of *Auguſtus*, confirm'd his doubtful Friends, ſhock'd his private Adverſaries, and threw his open Enemies into Deſpair.

The King of Sweden *thought to be killed, throughout* Europe.

But

But this Rumour was ſoon diſperſed. *Auguſtus* flying before the Conqueror, got together ſome Palatines at *Sendomir*, who were zealous in his Service. They there reſolv'd upon ſending an Embaſſy to the King of *Sweden*, to offer him the Mediation of the Republic, betwixt himſelf and the King of *Poland*. *Auguſtus* then came to *Warſaw*, with a Train of Negotiations conſtantly at his Heels. Another Aſſembly, called together in that City, confirmed the Embaſſy reſolv'd upon at *Sendomir*. *Mortzin*, the chief Ambaſſador, wrote to the King of *Sweden*, to know at what time his Majeſty would be pleaſed to give them Audience. The King made Anſwer, That he was ſurpriz'd the Republic ſhould offer him their Mediation in an Affair, wherein themſelves were become a Party, as the Army of *Poland* had engag'd with him at *Cliſſow*, and the *Poles* ſtill daily exerciſed Hoſtilities upon the *Swedes*; but if notwithſtanding the Republic diſown'd theſe Actions, and were willing to clear themſelves of the Suſpicions they had raiſed, the firſt Step would be, to remove the Actors, and puniſh them in an examplary manner, as a Proof of the ſincere Affection they profeſs'd to bear towards *Sweden*; and after this Juſtification he ſhould be ready to talk with them.

A Council aſſembled at Warſaw.

The Republic offer their Mediation between the two Kings.

The Complaints of Charles XII. againſt the Republic.

Whilſt the King of *Sweden* aſſumed the Language of a Conqueror, *Auguſtus*, returning from his hereditary Dominions, whither he had taken a Journey, came to *Thorn*, and preſided in the Great Council he had called together in that City. The Aſſembly accepted of the Emperor's Mediation, in behalf of the Republic, and reſolv'd to declare War upon the King of *Sweden*, in caſe he refus'd the Mediators which they offer'd him.

A great Council called together at Thorn, by Auguſtus.

The

1703. The Cardinal Primate, who had already dethroned *Augustus* in his Mind, willing to oppose Councils to Councils, called an Assembly at *Warsaw*; but the small Number of Senators who came thither, and the Presence of the *Swedes*, who had got Possession of the Castle, oblig'd him to put it off to another Time. *Augustus* was then at *Marienbourg*, with some of his Party, whom he laid under the Obligation of new Oaths.

The Assembly at Warsaw, Feb. 15.

In the mean time the King of *Sweden* gave Audience to the Deputies of the Council, and then conferring with the Cardinal, he let him know his Intentions, by a Declaration to this Purpose; That the King of *Poland* offer'd Peace, or made War, as he was more or less press'd by the *Swedish* Arms: That the King of *Sweden*, desiring that a free Assembly might be called, of all the Members of the Republic, to restore Tranquillity in *Poland*, King *Augustus*, seconded by his Followers at *Marienbourg*, had treated that Assembly, call'd together at *Warsaw* by the Primate, as an unlawful Meeting, whereas it was his Council at *Mariembourg* which more justly deserv'd the Name of Conventicle: That they had there made such open and repeated Menaces of War and Rupture between the Republic and *Sweden*, that he was satisfied the Assembly was not guided by a Spirit of Peace and Reconciliation, but rather influenc'd by the Author of the Troubles, whose Sentiments and Designs they solely express'd: That this Conduct had too much open'd the Eyes of the King of *Sweden*, to suffer himself to be any longer amused by the Delays of Negotiations: That however his Majesty did not refuse to make a proper Peace with the Republic, for which he had given signal Proofs of his Affection, by refusing the Advan-

The King of Sweden's Declaration.

Advantages of private Treaties offer'd to his Majeſty, but injurious to the Liberties of *Poland*: That they would do well, not to refuſe the Offers of Aſſiſtance and Confirmation of the Alliance, made by his Majeſty to the Republic, which if they did, they might have Cauſe to repent of: That laſtly, he had pointed out the ſureſt Means of procuring Peace, and was ready to hearken to the Propoſitions which ſhould be made him on that Subject, in an Aſſembly wherein the Primate of the Kingdom ſhould preſide, whom his Prudence and Love for Juſtice ought to render agreeable to both Parties.

Charles XII. who did not love long Treaties, and grew tir'd of Inactivity, left *Praag*, to fall upon the *Saxons* at *Pultuſch*. As he was upon his March, he receiv'd the Primate's Anſwer to the foregoing Declaration. The King, who deſired a poſitive Anſwer, was diſpleaſed with the Obſcurity of the Primate's Letter. The only Point in it plainly expreſs'd, was a Proteſtation, never to dethrone *Auguſtus*.

In the mean time *Charles* paſſed the Rivers, march'd againſt the *Saxons*, and drove them before him. His Preſence was ſufficient to procure a Victory. After this late Succeſs, he advanc'd under the Walls of *Thorn*, which was blockaded by eight thouſand *Swedes*. The Place was fortified with a Gariſon of ſix thouſand *Saxons*; but as large as the Gariſon was, it was far inferior to the 8000 *Swedes*, who beſieg'd it.

The Saxons defeated at Pultuſch.

Thorn blockaded, May 16.

Auguſtus, yielding on all Sides to the victorious Arms of his Enemy, dragg'd his Misfortunes along from Town to Town, and at laſt call'd his Friends together, to repair his Loſſes. He open'd a Diet at *Lublin*, whither the Cardinal had the Aſſurance to [illegible] em'd to promiſe fair, [illegible] took

The Diet at Lublin open'd, Jan. 19.

the Oaths with the reſt, never to conſent to the dethroning of *Auguſtus*, and to do all he could for the Preſervation of his Crown. By this means he prevented the violent Reſolutions, which were then talk'd of, of aboliſhing his Dignity, and declaring him a Traitor to his Country, and unfaithful to his Prince. The Aſſembly gave *Auguſtus* Leave to raiſe Taxes, for the Support of the War, and to make what Alliances he judg'd proper, with foreign Powers. He repeated the Oaths he had before taken at *Sendomir*, to aſſure the *Poles*, that he had no Deſign upon the Liberty of their Country.

The Poſt-comitial Aſſembly.

The Aſſembly which was held afterwards, and is called *Poſt-comitial*, as it conſtantly follows the Diets or *Comitia*, impowered the Cardinal and the Commiſſioners of the Republic to let the King of *Sweden* know, that the Reſolutions taken at *Lublin*, did in no wiſe derogate from the Power already given the Commiſſioners to conclude a Peace; that, on the other hand, they had augmented thoſe Powers to treat with his *Swediſh* Majeſty, from whoſe Equity they had Cauſe to expect ſuch Conditions as ſhould be agreeable to Reaſon. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, the Cardinal came to *Warſaw*, and informing the Commiſſioners of what was done, he wrote to the King of *Sweden* upon this Subject, who made Anſwer, that he ſhould do nothing to hinder a reaſonable Peace.

The Cardinal comes to Warſaw, writes to the King of Sweden, and receives an Anſwer from him.

His Majeſty meant nothing by theſe general Terms, but a Peace that was agreeable to his own Intentions. To bring the *Poles* ſomewhat nearer to his Deſigns, he chang'd the Blockade of *Thorn* to a Siege in Form; and the Gariſon, oblig'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion, found more favourable Conditions from the King's Generoſity, than they could have hop'd for from a Treaty.

The Siege of Thorn, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

Auguſtus

Auguſtus ſeeing that his Forces daily came to nothing, ſent an Embaſſy to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive, notwithſtanding it was oppos'd by ſome of the Senators. Theſe Proceedings, againſt the Inclinations of the *Poles*, ſtill farther alienated their Affections from him, and favour'd the Aſſembly of the Confederates, which the Primate held at *Warſaw*. The Prelate talk'd of nothing but quieting the Troubles of the Kingdom; and ſo far as to give the King Notice, that it had been propos'd to dethrone him. But, thinking he had done enough to give a Colour to his Actions, he ſoon after enter'd into all the Views of the Confederation.

Auguſtus ſends an Embaſſy into Muſcovy.

1704. *The Confederates meet at* Warſaw.

As ſoon as the Cardinal had thrown off the Mask, the *Interregnum* was reſolv'd on by the Confederates. Some of them, ſtruck with the Conſequences of ſuch a Reſolution, and likewiſe affected with the Menaces of the Czar and King *Auguſtus*, declar'd they came not to the Aſſembly to dethrone the King, but only to heal the Maladies of the Republic. Their Zeal ſunk or roſe in Proportion to the Circumſtances that interven'd. *Auguſtus*, then at *Cracow* with his Followers, declar'd the Nobility aſſembled at *Warſaw*, to be Rebels and Traitors. This News exaſperated them ſtill more; and ſome of the Deputies broke out into furious Invectives againſt the King: "Which of our Privileges, (ſaid they) however "ſacred, has not *Auguſtus* violated? The People "are impoveriſhed, the principal Families of the "State oppreſſed, all *Poland* enſlaved by *Saxon* "Garriſons, the Fire of War kindled to conſume "the little Remains of our expiring Liberty: "And are not theſe ſubſtantial Proofs that *Au-* "*guſtus* tramples his [illegible] and our moſt ſacred "Laws, under

An Interregnum agreed on by the Confederates.

Auguſtus declares them Rebels and Traitors to their Country.

Theſe

These bold and free Discourses cemented the Resolutions of the Assembly, and encouraged such of the Deputies as had suffered their Resolution to cool. A new Incident reviv'd their first Warmth and dispell'd all their Doubts about dethroning *Augustus*. They learnt by a Letter from Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, that his two Brothers *James* and *Constantine* were carried off near *Breslaw* in *Silesia* by the Orders of the King of *Poland*. This Violence let loose the Tongues of the whole Assembly, and they made no manner of Hesitation to resolve upon the *Interregnum*.

Prince James Sobieski and Prince Constantine carried off by the Orders of Augustus.

Augustus was no sooner inform'd of what had pass'd in the Assembly at *Warsaw*, than he gave Notice of it to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. He sent Word of it likewise to the Pope, who used his utmost Endeavours to prevent so strange a Revolution. The Pontif wrote to the Primate in pressing Terms, not to give so great a Scandal to *Europe*; but the Blow was already struck. The Cardinal, in his Answer to the Pope, described the Injury offer'd to the two Princes in most lively Colours; he repeated the several Attempts of King *Augustus* upon the Liberty of *Poland*, the *Saxons* introduced into the Heart of the Kingdom, a War enter'd into to drain the Republic, and ruin great Families, the Defeats of *Augustus*, the Ravage of *Poland*, the absolute Contempt of executing the *Pacta Conventa*, a sacred Contract, broke and trampled under Foot by *Augustus*. He added in his Letter, that the Cries and Groans of their oppressed Country had at last enter'd into the Heart of the good *Poles*, who had no other Way left of relieving their common Mother, than by rescuing her from the Hands of the Oppressor. Lastly, he justified his Association with *Sweden*, and concluded with calling in doubt the Sincerity of *Augustus*'s Conversion.

The Pope writes to the Cardinal, who sends an Answer to his Holiness.

This

This Letter, ſharp as it was, made no Alteration in the Pope's Reſolution; he wrote back to the Cardinal, adviſing him to Temper, and not to make the Evil worſe, by dethroning the King. The Pope's Solicitations had no Effect upon the Cardinal, and the *Interregnum*, already reſolv'd upon, was publiſh'd in the Beginning of *May*. The Heat of their Paſſions had hinder'd ſeveral Palatines from ſeeing the Conſequence of ſuch dangerous Proceedings; but when they came to conſider of them more cooly, they were ſhock'd at what they had done, and went off from the reſt of the Confederates. They ſaid they came to *Warſaw* with no other View, than to labour for Peace, and not to prolong the Troubles by ſuch violent Methods, as could only end in the abſolute Ruin of the Commonwealth.

The Interregnum publiſhed.

The Separation of ſome of the Deputies from the reſt of the Aſſembly.

There was no Regard paid to their Separation; on the other hand, they reſolved to finiſh what they had already begun. General *Horne*, the King of *Sweden*'s Miniſter in this Affair, came to the Aſſembly with the Palatine of *Poſnania*, and the Marſhal of the Confederation, who had been to make him a Viſit. The Biſhop of *Poſnania*, and the Palatines of *Poſnania* and *Siradia* were appointed the Commiſſioners of the Republic to treat with this General.

General Horne treats with the Commiſſioners of the Republic.

Auguſtus, enrag'd at the Conduct of the Confederates, broke out into a ſevere Invective againſt them in the General Diet, which he had call'd to meet at *Sendomir*. But neither his Menaces, nor his Complaints, were capable of putting a Stop to the Proceedings of the Confederates, who ſoon open'd a Diet at *Warſaw* for the Election of a new King. The Candidates nam'd were Prince *Alexander Sobieſki*, the Prince of *Conti*, and ſome others; but the Eyes of all were fix'd upon the former two. Prince *Alexander* was favoured by

The Diet of Sendomir call'd by Auguſtus.

The Diet of Election at Warſaw.

Candidates propos'd to the Diet.

the King of *Sweden*, whoſe Protection was of great Weight with moſt Part of the Electors, who were no other than the Inſtruments of his Will. The Prince of *Conti* was ſupported by the Cardinal, who was almoſt the only One of his Party. *Alexander*, preſſed by *Charles* XII. to accept the Crown, proteſted that he would never aſcend a Throne which Fortune had denied his elder Brother. This Moderation of young *Sobieſki*, and the few Friends of the Prince of *Conti*, caus'd all Mention of them to be dropt in the Diet. The other Candidates divided the Voices of the Aſſembly, who, finding they were not likely to agree about them, gave them all up.

Prince Alexander Sobieſki declines accepting the Crown.

A new Candidate, who had almoſt every Voice on his Side, contributed not a little to make them intirely forgotten. This was *Staniſlaus Leczinſki*, Palatine of *Poſnania*, a young Lord, brave, liberal, and indefatigable, and of a Diſpoſition likely to put an end to all their Diviſions. The King of *Sweden*, who at firſt warmly declar'd in behalf of Prince *Alexander*, not finding him diſpos'd to comply with his Intentions, afterwards left the Liberty of chuſing to the Nobility; but when he heard they had own'd the Merit of *Staniſlaus*, he deſired that he might be proclaimed King without any Regard to the uſual Formalities, which took up more Time than was conſiſtent with his Vivacity. *Staniſlaus* was then declar'd King of *Poland*, and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*, at Nine in the Evening, by the Biſhop of *Poſnania*.

Staniſlaus Leczinſki, Palatine of Poſnania, is propos'd. His Character.

He is elected King of Poland.

Auguſtus, having learnt at *Kamin* the Election of the Palatine of *Poſnania*, aſſembled in that City the great Council he had called together at *Sendomir*. *Staniſlaus* was there declared a Rebel and Traitor to his Country. The great Zeal of *Auguſtus*'s Party might have kept him in Heart, if his

his Arms had been leſs unſucceſsful; but whilſt he was engaging with his Rival by vain Declarations, the *Swedes* were routing the *Saxon* Troops, upon which he ſtill founded ſome ſmall Degree of Hopes.

Count *Leewenhaupt*, a *Swediſh* General, with an Army of 7000 Men, fell upon 12000 *Saxons*, commanded by Prince *Wieſnowiski*, upon the Banks of the *Duna*, cut off 3000 of them, put the reſt to Flight, and ſeized upon their Baggage and Artillery. This Loſs was followed by another, which was leſs conſiderable indeed as to the Number of the Slain, but of much greater Conſequence as to the Quantity of Officers involv'd in it. The *Saxons* thinking to ſurprize 3000 *Swediſh* Dragoons, who were encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of *Poſen*, march'd to attack them by Night; but the *Swedes* receiv'd them ſo briskly, that they drove them back, and intirely defeated them.

Prince Wieſnowiſki defeated by Lewenhaupt a Swediſh General.

The King of *Sweden* allow'd *Auguſtus* no longer Intermiſſion, than the *Swediſh* Generals did the Generals of the *Saxons*. He advanced towards *Solock*, where that Prince lay encamp'd; but *Auguſtus* deceiving his Enemy by an extraordinary March, appear'd before *Warſaw*, which he forced to open her Gates to him. The Caſtle, into which General *Horne* retired, was oblig'd to ſurrender, and the Gariſon were made Priſoners of War, after having obtain'd ſome Conditions, which alleviated their Fate. *Charles* XII. not having Time enough to hinder the Entrance of *Auguſtus*, was unwilling to loſe the Benefit of his March, and therefore laid ſiege to *Leopold*, which he carried the next Day by Aſſault, though the Gariſon made a ſtout Reſiſtance. He found a conſiderable Booty in the City.

Charles XII. purſues Auguſtus, who decamps and marches to Warſaw, where he is receiv'd.

Leopold beſieged and carried by Aſſault by the King of Sweden.

After this last Success, the *Swedish* Army, which was join'd before *Leopold* by King *Stanislaus* and his Followers, decamped to fall upon the Troops of *Augustus*, which lay within a few Leagues of *Warsaw* upon the *Vistula*. *Augustus*, fearing his ill Fortune, divided his Army, which consisted of 45000 Men, into three Bodies, that the King of *Sweden* might not crush him to pieces with a single Blow.

The Party of Stanislaus increases. Whilst he was endeavouring to save his Forces, his Rival's Party was increasing daily. The Palatine of *Kiow*, who had form'd a Party under the Name of the *Indifferents*, soon went over to *Stanislaus*. *The Cardinal declares in his favour.* The Cardinal himself, who had not as yet absolutely declar'd himself, embrac'd his Cause; and to give him a Proof of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he call'd a General Diet to meet at *Warsaw*, to confirm his Election, and fix the Day of his Coronation. *A General Diet at Warsaw, July 11.* The Assembly joined with the Primate, and *Stanislaus* was crown'd in the Church of St. *John*, having sworn to the Observation of the *Pacta Conventa* the Day before. *Charles* XII. was present at the Ceremony *incognito*, and had the Pleasure of seeing a King confirm'd, who ow'd his Crown to him.

1705. Stanislaus *crown'd by the Archbishop of Leopold.*

The Cardinal did not long serve the new King. He died at *Dantzick* on the 13th of *October*. This Gentleman, whose Character has been so differently drawn by different Parties, was the Son of *Jerome Radzieiowski*, Starost of *Lomza*, and afterwards Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom. The young *Radzieiowski* was left an Orphan at nine Years old, and Queen *Louisa*, affected with his Misfortune, gave him an Education suitable to his Birth. When he was grown up, he followed the Fortunes of *Sobieski*, who in 1679 nominated him to the Bishoprick of *Warmerlandt*, and made him

The Cardinal Primate dies. His Story.

him Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom. Pope *Innocent* XI. honour'd him with the *Roman* Purple in 1683; and the King ſoon after gave him the Primacy of *Poland*.

He is repreſented on one Side as a crafty Villain, and on the other as a Man of Ability and Penetration; but in Reality was only timorous and wavering. One may venture to aver, that his Conduct at *Lublin* was wholly owing to this Diſpoſition, whither he went to ſwear that he would preſerve the Crown to *Auguſtus*, and immediately return'd to *Warſaw* to abjure the Oath he had taken; in the firſt place, ſtruck with an Apprehenſion of ſeeing a Blow given to his Dignity, and then returning to his Fears, and fancying that *Auguſtus* had ſtill ſome evil Deſign againſt the Liberty of his Country. Beſides, he was like all the *Poles*, an Enemy to a King whom he did not make, and unfaithful to the Head of a Republic, which was ever jealous of the Conduct of its Sovereign. *His Character.*

The Treaty, already begun between King *Staniſlaus* and the King of *Sweden*, was at laſt ſign'd and ratified by the two Monarchs. The principal Aim of this Treaty was to ſupport *Staniſlaus* upon the Throne, and the two Eſtates in a firm and durable Alliance. But *Charles* XII. ſerved *Staniſlaus* better by Deeds than Promiſes. His valiant *Swedes*, diffuſed throughout all *Poland*, clear'd it of its Enemies. A hundred thouſand *Muſcovites*, which made up ſeveral Bodies of Troops, were this Year either ſlain or routed in the Kingdom. But the moſt fatal Blow to *Auguſtus*'s Party was the Defeat of his Troops at *Frauwenſtadt*. *Reiſchildt*, at the Head of 10000 of his brave Soldiers, fell upon the Enemies Army, which amounted to 20000 Men. The two Wings of the Enemy gave way to the Impetuoſity of the *Swedes* upon *A Treaty between the King of Sweden and King Staniſlaus.* *1706. The Muſcovites beaten.* *The Saxons routed at Frauwenſtadt.*

firſt Onſet, and what followed was rather a Slaughter than an Engagement. The Conquerors broke the Foot with their uſual Fury notwithſtanding all their Efforts, and the Field of Battle was ſoon cover'd with the Slain. Seven thouſand of the Enemy were left upon the Place, and Eight thouſand taken Priſoners; and yet ſo compleat a Victory did not coſt the *Swedes* above Three hundred and ſixty of their Men, amongſt whom were ſome Officers of Diſtinction. This brave Action did not laſt above three Hours. Beſides the Advantage of Numbers, the *Saxons* were commanded that Day by the famous General *Schullembourg*, who but a little while before had gain'd the Commendations of *Charles* and *Staniſlaus* for an excellent Retreat.

Auguſtus aſſembles a great Council at Warſaw.

As ſoon as this bad News had reach'd the Ear of *Auguſtus*, he had recourſe to his uſual Remedies. A great Council was call'd at *Warſaw*, where his Majeſty then was. He ſoon after march'd thence to *Cracow*, which he ſtrengthen'd with new Fortifications, deſigning to make it the Repoſitory of his Artillery. It was from this City he obſerv'd the Motions of the *Swedes*, and ſaw the *Lithuanians*, to his great Vexation, paſs over to the Standards of his Rival. But nothing affected him more than the Deſtruction of the *Muſcovites*, his Allies, who periſhed moſt of them by Hunger or Cold. They were reduc'd to ſo great Diſtreſs, that they were forced to quit *Grodno*, to the Number of 15000 Foot, and near 5000 Horſe, which the King of *Sweden* haraſſed ſo briskly in their Retreat, that very few of them were left.

The Muſcovites diſtreſſed at Grodno.

But *Auguſtus* had ſtill ſome Hopes left of repairing his Misfortunes by Aſſiſtance from *Saxony*. And *Charles* XII. underſtood, that he muſt take from him all his Hopes from thence, before he could reduce him to quit the Field to *Staniſlaus*.

He

He had no ſooner formed this Reſolution, but he entered *Saxony*, This ſingular Conqueror would not ſuffer the Arrival of an Enemy's Army to be attended with any Diſturbance to the State. The ſevere Diſcipline of his Soldiers guarded the Country from all Inſult; but the *Saxons* could hardly be brought to believe it, who fled from Town to Town upon the Approach of the *Swedes*. *The King of Sweden marches into Saxony.*

To remove all their Fears, *Charles* publiſhed a Declaration, which was a kind of general Safeguard, forbidding all Perſons whatſoever to leave their Goods, or convey them away, under ſevere Penalties; and then marching farther into the Electorate, he gave Orders for the Security of the Tradeſmen at the Mart of *Leipſick*, which was kept as uſual. In the mean time he did not loſe View of his Deſign, to withdraw from *Auguſtus* all the Succour he could hope for from *Saxony*, which he did by impoſing immenſe Contributions upon the Towns.

Auguſtus ſeeing at laſt his Affairs in the Condition he had long been afraid of, grew ſenſible of his Weakneſs in *Poland*, and the Neceſſity of removing *Charles* XII. from his hereditary Dominions. He found he muſt yield to the preſent Conjuncture, and ſubmit to the Conqueror. He determin'd therefore to offer ſome Propoſals to his Enemy, and diſpatch'd Baron *d' Imhof* and *Finſten* to the King of *Sweden*. Theſe two Miniſters came to the *Swediſh* Camp, but privately, for fear the *Muſcovites* ſhould know, that he was minded to treat with *Charles* XII. He gave them full Powers, and a Blank ſign'd. *Charles* XII. receiving the Letter they brought him from *Auguſtus*, opened it and read it. He bid them wait one Moment, and he would give them an Anſwer; and going into his Cloſet, where he tarried not long, he returned with a Paper u *Auguſtus ſues for Peace of the King of Sweden in Saxony.*

The King of Sweden's Anſwer.

which he gave Baron *d' Imhof* to read. The Contents of it were as follows:

" I conſent to give Peace upon the following " Conditions, in which it muſt not be ex- " pected that I ſhall make the leaſt Alteration.

" I. That King *Auguſtus* renounce for ever the " Crown of *Poland*; that he acknowledge *Stani-* " *ſlaus* as lawful King, and that he promiſe never " to remount the Throne, not even after the Death " of *Staniſlaus*.

" II. That he renounce all other Treaties, and " particularly thoſe he has made with *Muſcovy*.

" III. That he ſend back with Honour the " Princeſs *Sobieſki* into my Camp, and all the " Priſoners he has ever taken.

" IV. That he deliver into my Hands all the " Deſerters which have enter'd into his Service, " and particularly *John Patkul*, and that all Pro- " ceedings be ſtopt againſt ſuch as have paſs'd " from his Service into mine."

The Plenipotentiaries of *Auguſtus* could never obtain from *Charles* the leaſt Abatement of the Rigour of theſe Conditions, and ſo were forced to comply with his imperious Inflexibility.

Charles exerciſed then in *Saxony* an abſolute Power; he deſired to know the Strength of the Electorate, and the State of the Finances, and immediately they obeyed his Orders. The Regiſters were laid before him, and by that Means he knew how much he could demand of the Eſtates, from which he ſtraight exacted 625000 Crowns

Crowns a Month, which he afterwards reduc'd to 500000. *Charles raiſes great Contributions in the Electorate.*

Whilſt he was thus draining *Saxony*, Prince *Menzikoff* the Czar's Generaliſſimo, at the Head of 30000 Men, joined *Auguſtus* with his little Army of about 6000 *Poles* and *Saxons*. The Arrival of the *Muſcovites* threw his Majeſty into a ſtrange Confuſion. He was under the moſt terrible Apprehenſions from them, in caſe his Negotiation with *Sweden* came to be diſcover'd; but what threw him into a much greater Perplexity, was the Preſence of 10000 *Swedes*, commanded by General *Meyerfeldt*. He would have been glad to decline an Engagement, for fear he ſhould irritate a Conqueror, who was already too much incenſed. He is ſaid to have given Notice to the *Swediſh* General, that there was a Negotiation on foot between him and *Charles* XII. but this Circumſtance only added to the Ardour of the *Swedes*. Compell'd at laſt to yield to the Inſtances of Prince *Menzikoff*, and provok'd by the Confidence of *Meyerfeldt*, he conſented to a Battle, which, whether loſt or won, could not but prove alike fatal to him. It ſeem'd as if Fortune, till then obſtinately bent to purſue him, declared at laſt in his Favour, only to advance his Ruin by a Kindneſs ſhew'd too late. The *Swedes* were conquered; but the Victory of *Auguſtus* ſerv'd only to make the Yoke more heavy, which *Charles* XII. laid upon him. *The Battle of Caliſh gain'd by Auguſtus againſt the Swedes.*

Auguſtus was entring *Warſaw* in Triumph, when *Finſter*, one of his Plenipotentiaries, preſented him with the Treaty of Peace, which depriv'd him of the Crown. In the firſt Emotions of his Heart, upon Sight of the fatal Inſtrument of his Shame, he doubted whether he ſhould not march at the Head of his victorious Troops to fall upon the King *Auguſtus ſigns his Abdication.*

King of *Sweden* in *Saxony*; but fearing to be overwhelm'd in an Abyss, which was already sunk too deep, he at last complied to sign his Abdication, and went into *Saxony*, hoping to disarm his inflexible Enemy by his Presence.

The Interview of Charles XII. with Augustus.

The two Kings met at *Guntersdorf* in Count *Piper*'s Quarters. They were several times together, and *Charles* shew'd great Respect to *Augustus*; but these vain Appearances brought but little Consolation for the Severity of *Charles*, who made him pay dear for the Victory at *Calisch*, which he gain'd over General *Meyerfeldt*. This Severity went so far as to oblige him to write a Letter of Congratulation to *Stanislaus* upon his Advancement to the Crown. *Augustus* swallow'd this uneasy Circumstance with the Policy of a Man that was accustomed to sad Revolutions; but he knew not how to digest the Affront of being compell'd to give up *Patkul* to the Vengeance of the King of *Sweden*.

Augustus congratulates Stanislaus upon his Advancement to the Throne.

The Fate of Patkul.

John Renold Patkul, a Gentleman of *Livonia*, had done great Services for *Augustus*. He was the Czar's Ambassador, and was demanded back in very high Terms. On the other hand, *Charles* XII. would grant no Peace to *Augustus* on any other Condition, than the giving up of *Patkul* into his Hands. These Circumstances, and the Dread of being reproach'd with Ingratitude, lay heavy upon *Augustus*. At last he thought to save his Reputation, and satisfy the King of *Sweden*, by contriving the Prisoner's Escape, before the *Swedes* could seize upon his Person; but *Patkul*'s ill Fortune disappointed the King's Discretion. The Governor of the Castle, where he lay imprisoned, demanded a large Sum of Money of him to set him at Liberty, which *Patkul* refused to give him. Whilst they were disputing, the *Swedes* came up, nd the Victim was forced to be delivered into eir Hands.

The

The unfortunate *Patkul* was condemned to [redacted] broke alive upon the Wheel, and bore that [redacted]nishment with Conſtancy, which in its very [redacted]pparatus is capable of ſtaggering the ſtouteſt [redacted]eſolution. His Crimes were, his oppoſing the [redacted]ill of *Charles* XI. Father to *Charles* XII. in [redacted]aintaining the Liberties of *Livonia* his Country, [redacted]nd ſucceſſively paſſing into the Service of *Auguſtus* and the Czar, the ſworn Enemies of *Sweden*. [redacted]is Character of Ambaſſador ought to have [redacted]uarded him againſt ſuch barbarous Treatment; [redacted]ut *Charles*, who conſidered him only as a Rebel [redacted]ubject, put him to a cruel Death, which was in [redacted]is Eyes no more than an Act of Juſtice.

The Czar's Compl. into upon the Death of Patkul.

The Czar was highly provok'd at the Treaty concluded at *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and ſent his Complaints into all *Europe* of the Treatment offered to his Miniſter. He omitted nothing that might contribute to glut his Revenge. He gained over to his Intereſt the Principal of the *Poles*, who met at *Leopold* in great Numbers, and ingaged them to a Reſolution of electing a new King, and writing to all foreign Powers, not to acknowledge any other King of *Poland*, than the Perſon whom they ſhould advance to the Throne.

In the mean time *Staniſlaus* got himſelf to be acknowledged by moſt of the Princes in *Europe*, ſome of whom gave him that Satisfaction, only that they might have it in their Power more certainly to do him a Miſchief.

The Aſſembly of Lublin *declares the Throne vacant.*

There was held in *May* another Aſſembly at *Lublin*, in which the Throne was declared vacant. The Diet was call'd for a third Election, when *Staniſlaus*, leaving the King of *Sweden* in *Saxony*, came into *Poland* with General *Reinſchildt* at the Head of ſixteen *Swediſh* Regiments. *Charles* followed them ſoon after with the reſt of the Army. Upon his Approach, the Czar retired ſpeedily into

Charles XII. *leaves* Saxony *to purſue the Czar.*

into his Dominions; but neither the Ice, nor the Difficulty of the Way, could put a Stop to his Enemy, who march'd hard to come at him.

1708. Charles XII. *seizes upon* Mohilow.

After ſeveral Engagements, in which the Swedes were always Conquerors, the Army, which began to want Neceſſaries, ſeized upon *Mohilow*, a Frontier Place of *Poland*, that was well ſupplied with Proviſions. This Succour came very ſeaſonably, before the Arrival of the Convoy, which General *Leewenhaupt* was to bring up, with a Supply of 12000 Men. The King of *Sweden* for ſome Time ſtill purſuing the *Muſcovites*, march'd his Troops towards *Ukrania*, where he hop'd to ſubſiſt them eaſily by means of *Mazeppa*, the Prince of the *Coſſacks*, who inhabit that Country. He had enter'd into a private Treaty with this General, who ſought to revenge himſelf of the Czar for the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from him. The Czar communicating to him his Deſign of bringing the *Coſſacks* into greater Subjection, a ſort of vagabond People like the *Tartars*, *Mazeppa* told him it would be impoſſible to execute his Project; which threw the Czar into ſuch Violence of Paſſion, that he threaten'd to have him impal'd alive. This General had ingag'd to join the King of *Sweden* with 30000 Men, who waited for him with Impatience, but in vain. The *Coſſack*'s Deſigns were diſcovered by the *Muſcovites*, who prevented the Execution of them, cut his Troops in pieces, and oblig'd him to fly for Shelter to the King of *Sweden* with 6000 Men, the feeble Remains of his Army. His Towns were taken, his Proviſions plunder'd, the Enemy in the Heart of his Dominions, deſtroying with Fire and Sword, and himſelf without any other Remedy than the Affection of the *Coſſacks*.

The Swediſh Army enters Ukrania.

The Condition of Ukrania *upon the Arrival of the* Swedes.

In

In the mean while *Leewenhaupt* was bringing up the Ammunitions and Supplies, which the King of *Sweden* expected. The Czar, inform'd of his March, reſolv'd to prevent his joining with the King of *Sweden*. In ſhort, it was a deciſive Blow; and if this Convoy could be carried off, the *Swedes* muſt be reduc'd to ſtrange Extremities; and therefore he made no Heſitation to march againſt *Leewenhaupt*, whom he encounter'd near *Leſno*. He had with him 50000 Men, and the General of the Enemy but 16000. But notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, the brave *Swedes* ſtood five obſtinate Engagements in three Days; but at laſt he was overpowered, and oblig'd to retreat with the Loſs of 10000 of his Men. He ſet fire to the Waggons loaden with Proviſions, to prevent their falling into the Enemies Hands; but the *Muſcovites* came up Time enough to extinguiſh the Fire, and ſav'd the beſt Part of the Ammunitions.

The Convoy of the Swedes carried off by the Czar.

Leewenhaupt arriv'd at the King's Camp crown'd with Glory, but without the Succours, which were now become abſolutely neceſſary. The 5000 Men he had ſav'd from Slaughter, far from being a Recruit, ſeem'd to be come only to increaſe their Diſtreſs.

So many Misfortunes would have caſt down the Courage of any other Man than *Charles* XII. Train'd up as he was in a Courſe of Proſperity, one might have thought his Loſſes would have hung the heavier on him, when he fell into Adverſity; but loſing nothing of his natural Reſolution, he taught his Soldiers to bear the ſevereſt Hunger and moſt durable Fatigues with Reſignation. At the Diſtance he was from all Places, whence he might have expected Relief, he had no Hopes but in *Staniſlaus*; but this Prince had already too much Buſineſs upon his Hands from

General *Siniawski*, and beſides would have run too great a Hazard by marching into *Ukrania*, where the *Muſcovites* could eaſily have ſtopt his Paſſage.

The Diſtreſs of the King of Sweden's Army.

Every thing conſpired to ruin the King of *Sweden*'s Army. The Winter was ſo ſevere, that 2000 of his Soldiers periſhed by Cold. Thoſe Troops, which were formerly ſo well maintain'd, had not then wherewithal to guard them from the leaſt Injuries of the Weather. The moſt Part of them were without Boots, without Shoes, without Cloaths, and often they all wanted Bread. This Army, farther weaken'd by continual Skirmiſhes,

The Siege of Pultowa.

was at the Point of periſhing intirely, when *Charles* XII. reckoning all Obſtacles as nothing, went to lay ſiege to *Pultowa*, a Town ſituate on the Eaſtern Borders of *Ukrania*. He flattered himſelf here to put an End to the Miſeries of his Army by the Conqueſt of this Place, where the Czar had laid up abundance of Proviſions. But neither the Valour of the *Swedes*, nor the Intelligence which *Mazeppa* had in the Place, were able to give Succeſs to the King of *Sweden*'s Deſign. He could not even prevent the Enemy from throwing Succours into the Town, and the Siege began to be drawn out into Length. *Charles*, whoſe Courage increaſed by Difficulties, warmly preſs'd the Beſieged. The Curtain was already taken, when

Charles XII. *wounded.*

he received a Wound in his Heel. This Accident was followed by a Piece of News, which would have ſtaggered any other Man of leſs Courage than himſelf.

The Czar's Army arrives within ſight of Pultowa.

He learnt that the Czar was come up with an Army twice as large as his own, which conſiſted but of 18000 *Swedes*, and a like Number of *Coſſacks*, half dead with Cold and Want. The *Muſcovite* Army, beſides the Advantage of Numbers, wanted nothing, and conſiſted of freſh Troops, and well experienced by ſeveral Engagements.

Under

Under theſe Extremities, *Charles* made a laſt Effort to ſave his Army. His Wound put him out of a Condition to act with his wonted Vigour. Inclos'd however between the *Boryſthenes* and the River of *Pultowa*, and farther hemm'd in by a numerous Army, he was under a Neceſſity of making his Way through the Enemy, or of periſhing with Hunger. He did not heſitate one Moment. He ſent for the Velt-Marſhal *Reinſchildt* into his Tent by Night, and gave him Orders to prepare to march againſt the *Muſcovites* next Morning, which he receiv'd with a Surprize mix'd with Admiration. He withdrew to execute his Maſter's Commands, who ſlept ſoundly till Break of Day.

The Reſolution of Charles XII.

Charles *gives Orders for the Battle.*

The two Monarchs, whoſe Fortune was to be decided by the Event of that great Day, had the Eyes of all *Europe* fix'd upon them. They were both animated with an eager Deſire of conquering an irreconcileable Enemy. Thirty Victories did not allow *Charles* to doubt of Succeſs; which *Alexiowitz* flattered himſelf with likewiſe from his thirty Defeats, which had taught him how to conquer; both of them fond of Glory, *Charles* for its own Sake, and *Alexiowitz* for the Happineſs and Intereſt of his Empire. The *Swede* had made Kings, and the *Muſcovite* had made Dominions and Subjects. *Charles* riſqued his whole Reputation; and *Alexiowitz*, to the Title of Founder of a People and an Empire, ſought to give the Addition of the Conqueror of the greateſt General of his Age.

This Action began by Break of Day between the two Armies. The *Swedes*, to the Number of 25000, came out of their Trenches, and march'd directly againſt the Enemy, who were beginning to form their Camp. The *Swediſh* Horſe fell upon the Enemies Squadrons with their uſual Fury;

They engage by Break of Day.

The Advantages of the Swedes. and the *Muſcovites* fell back in Diſorder. Succeſs already declar'd for their Enemies, and *Charles* made no doubt of winning the Day, when the

The Czar rallies his Troops, and triumphs in his Turn. Czar ſtopt the Fugitives, rallied his Horſe, made head againſt the Conquerors, broke them, and drove them before him with all the Fury that the Shame of having turn'd their Backs and Vengeance could inſpire. *Charles* expected with Impatience

The Cauſe of the firſt Loſs of the Swedes. that General *Creuts*, whom he had detach'd with 5000 Horſe, ſhould fall upon the Enemy in Flank; but *Creuts* was march'd off. This Circumſtance ſecured the *Muſcovites*, and was the Ruin of the *Swedes*.

A general Engagement at nine in the Morning. All however was not yet deſperate. The King of *Sweden* diſpoſed the Troops he had left, in two Lines. The Foot were poſted in the Center, and ſupported on each Side by the Horſe, which made up the two Wings. The Czar diſpoſed his Army in the ſame Order, and advanced his Foot againſt the Foot of the Enemy. In the mean time ſeventy two Cannons play'd upon the *Swedes*, whoſe whole Artillery was only four bad Pieces of Mortar ill ſerved.

Alexiowitz, mounted upon a *Turkiſh* Horſe, flew from Rank to Rank, whilſt *Charles* was forced to be carried in a Litter, becauſe of his Wound. In

Charles XII. *overturn'd in his Litter.* the Beginning of this Action, the King's Litter was ſhatter'd to pieces by a Cannon-ball, and his Majeſty overturn'd. The *Swediſh* Army, upon

The Defeat and Maſſacre of the Swedes. ſeeing the King fall, immediately gave way; all were put to the Sword, or taken Priſoners, and the King himſelf was oblig'd to fly. He retired

The Retreat of Charles XII. to the *Turks*, whom he attempted in vain to arm againſt the Conqueror.

Europe heard with Aſtoniſhment, the Defeat of *Charles*, and the Elector King ſoon ſhew'd, that Treaties are but temporary Laws. He was no ſooner ſure of the Victory gain'd by the *Muſcovites*,

vites, than he caſt the Miniſters into Priſon, who had ſign'd the Peace of *Alt-Ranſtadt*. He publiſhed a Manifeſto to retract the Engagements, which he ſaid they went beyond their Powers in making, and declar'd his Reſolution to recover the Throne, from whence he had been driven by Violence. He ſet the beſt Face he could upon his own Conduct, and ſeverely cenſured the Proceedings of *Staniſlaus*'s Party, upon whom, and his Adherents, he liberally beſtow'd the odious Names of Traitors to their King and Country. *Auguſtus attempts to recover the Crown of Poland.*

This Manifeſto was in ſome meaſure ſerviceable to *Auguſtus*, and might be of Uſe to miſlead the People, but in Reality produc'd nothing in his Favour. The *Poles* were at Liberty to elect a King in his ſtead, as he had ſubmitted to the Law, which declares the Crown forfeited upon the Violation of the *Pacta Conventa*. And how could *Auguſtus* clear himſelf of the manifeſt Breach of his Oath? He had kept the *Saxons* in *Poland* againſt his Engagements, and had not conſulted the Republic in the caſe of a War, which moſt nearly concern'd them. Accuſtomed to abſolute Power in *Saxony*, he gave himſelf no Trouble about following a different Plan in *Poland*. This arbitrary Diſpoſition exaſperated his Subjects, who perhaps would not have been pleaſed at a good Agreement between the King and the Republic; as this Circumſtance might have diſappointed them of the Satisfaction of revenging themſelves upon *Auguſtus*, for obliging them to own his Authority, in Oppoſition to the other Candidates, whoſe Intereſt they had embraced. *The Title of Staniſlaus confirm'd.*

Staniſlaus therefore was the lawful King. Beſides, *Auguſtus* had renounced his Right, if he had any then remaining, when he ſign'd the Treaty of Abdication; but Kings are not always govern'd by ſtrict Equity. *Auguſtus* then enter'd *Poland* in *Auguſtus returns into Poland.*

Triumph, rather than as a King ſtript of his Dominions, and trying to recover them. A large Body of the Nobility and Great Men joined him in his March. The principal Perſons, whom the King of *Sweden*'s Fortune gained over to *Staniſlaus*, ſoon deſerted him, to follow the Conqueror's Ally.

Staniſlaus returns into Pomerania.

Meaſures taken in Saxony to prevent an Irruption of the Swedes.

Staniſlaus had no Hope left but in General *Craſſaw*, who was the only Obſtacle *Auguſtus* had to encounter; and therefore he took all neceſſary Meaſures to prevent the General from doing him any Miſchief in *Poland*. His Caution went even farther: He wrote to the Council of *Saxony* to arm the Militia at all Events, and ſeize upon the Paſſages, for fear the *Swedes* ſhould a ſecond time march into *Saxony*. The Council diligently obey'd the Orders of *Auguſtus*. He ordered all the Country People, that could carry a Gun, to be ready to march, and gave Arms to about 80000 Peaſants.

General *Craſſaw* was too weak to keep the Field againſt *Auguſtus*, whoſe Troops were ſuperior in Number, and not inferior in Courage, to the *Swedes*, ſince their King's Misfortunes. And thus the only Part the General had to take, was to retire out of *Poland*, that he might not expoſe his Soldiers to certain Ruin. He therefore reſolved to paſs into *Swediſh Pomerania*, whither *Staniſlaus* was oblig'd to follow him, having no Dependance in *Poland*; and beſides, he found it neceſſary to preſerve to the King of *Sweden*, for Occaſions of Moment, the few Troops that were left him.

After the Victory of *Pultowa*, the Czar came into *Poland*, where he had an Interview with *Auguſtus* in the Neighbourhood of *Thorn*. The two Monarchs agreed together, in what Manner to be revenged of *Sweden*, and prevent, for the future, the

the Miſchiefs which had occaſioned the Ruin of the one, and brought the other within the Brink of a Precipice.

In the mean time, the Senators were aſſembled at *Thorn*, to acknowledge *Auguſtus* to be the lawful King of *Poland*; and to make this Step the more ſolemn and authentic, they publiſh'd a Declaration upon this Subject. The Pope, who is ever careful to eſtabliſh his Authority, ſent a Bull to *Auguſtus*, to diſcharge him from the Treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*. And thus it was that he aſcended the Throne. *Staniſlaus and Auguſtus.* 1709. *The Aſſembly of* Thorn *acknowledges the Title of* Auguſtus.

Auguſtus earneſtly deſired to have the Treaty he had concluded with the Czar, approved by the Republic. He therefore propos'd this Affair to the Great Council, then aſſembled at *Warſaw*. The Senators were all at the King's Devotion, but the Nobility were not ſo eaſily gained, and every Day brought freſh Impediments. At laſt, after great Diſputes, the Treaty was ratified to the King's Pleaſure. His Majeſty, to gain the Love of his Subjects, made an Act of Indemnity, and took great Care to ſee it fully and exactly executed. Beſides this, he did an Act of Juſtice, to let the Nobility ſee what a real Value he had for them. A Colonel, who had aſſaulted a Deputy of *Czera*, with his Sabre, was ſeverely puniſh'd by his Orders. His Affability engag'd their Affections, and the Nobility, at laſt, was again prevailed on, by this Conduct, to acknowledge him as lawful King of *Poland*, in the General Diet, which was held at *Warſaw*. *The Treaty of* Auguſtus *with the Czar, ratified by the Council of* Warſaw.

The weak Remains of *Staniſlaus*'s Party in *Poland*, ſtill cauſed there ſome Commotions. The Palatine of *Kiow*, one of the King of *Sweden*'s Followers, over-ran *Poland* with ſix thouſand Men, made himſelf Maſter of *Sniatin*, and kept the Gariſon Priſoners of War. Till then *Staniſlaus* could *Motions of the Palatine of* Kiow, *an Adherent to* Staniſlaus.

ſtill rely upon ſome of the *Polish* Lords. The Hopes of the Party were not quite extinct; they were even ſomewhat revived, by the Victory of
712. the *Swedes* over the *Saxons*. The *Muſcovites* and *Danes*, routed together at *Gadebuſch*, and the burning the Town of *Altena* to Aſhes, by General *Steinbock*, inſpired ſtill ſome Terror of the *Swediſh* Army; but an unforeſeen Event chang'd
1713. the Face of Affairs, and loſt King *Staniſlaus* the few Followers he had left in *Poland*.

Charles XII, who, as we have already obſerv'd, repair'd to the *Turks* at *Bender*, had laid a Scheme for turning the *Ottoman* Arms upon his Rival, and not leaving *Turky* but at the Head of an hundred thouſand Men. He long hoped to ſucceed in this Project; but at laſt, ſeeing all his Intrigues fail, and the Czar to have the Aſcendant over him in the Divan, he took up a Reſolution to tarry among the *Turks*, whether they lik'd it, or no. He would never yield to the Inſtances of the Lords, who had attended him in his Flight, and poſitively maintained, that the Order to ſend him away, which the Baſha of *Bender* ſaid he had, muſt be a Forgery. It was to no Purpoſe to tell him, the Order was to ſeize upon his Perſon, in caſe of Reſiſtance; he was ſtill
Engage- reſolute. With three hundred Men in his Houſe, which he had baricaded and intrench'd, he calmly waited the coming up of an Army of five and twenty thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who eaſily broke through thoſe feeble Intrenchments, and took the three hundred *Swedes* Priſoners. The King himſelf, after ſome Reſiſtance, was taken by the Janiſaries. The News of this ſtrange Action was ſoon ſpread throughout all *Europe*, and particularly *Poland*. The King of *Sweden* was judged to be loſt, paſt all Remedy, and ſeveral

of

of the *Poles* ſpeedily returned to their Obedience to *Auguſtus*.

Staniſlaus, finding he was deſerted by the *Poles*, thought of quitting a Throne he knew not how to keep. He imagin'd that *Fleming*, the Miniſter of King *Auguſtus*, would procure him advantageous Conditions, in Gratitude for the ſignal Services he had done him. He had prevailed upon the King of *Sweden*, to lay aſide the Proſecution of that General, whom in all Probability he would have treated like *Patkul*, as he look'd upon him to be a rebellious Subject, who ſerv'd againſt his Country. He had therefore an Interview with this Miniſter, who made uſe of the Confidence of his Benefactor, to abuſe him the more effectually.

The King of *Sweden* was at *Bender*, when *Staniſlaus* wrote to deſire he would conſent to his Abdication, and allow him to ſacrifice himſelf for the public Peace, and had not yet ſhewn *Turky* the ſtrange Spectacle we have been deſcribing. After he had read the Letter of *Staniſlaus*, he refuſed abſolutely his Conſent to a Step, which, he thought, would affect his Glory. In the mean time, *Staniſlaus* finding it neceſſary to comply with the Time, took a Reſolution to go to the King of *Sweden* himſelf, thinking he might gain his Approbation. He was enter'd upon the *Turkiſh* Territories, and not knowing the Cataſtrophe of *Bender*, he paſs'd for a *Swede*, that was going to the King. Upon ſaying that he was a *Swede*, he was ſeized and carried under a Guard to *Bender*, whither the King of *Sweden* was led Priſoner himſelf in a Chariot. *Charles*, upon Information that *Staniſlaus* was not far off, "Run, "and tell him, ſays he, to make no Treaty "with *Auguſtus*, for we ſhall ſoon have a Change "of Affairs.

Staniſlaus *taken Priſoner in* Turky.

Charles, at laſt convinc'd he ſhould never be able to turn the Arms of the *Turks* againſt *Muſcovy*, repaired into his Dominions, where he aſſigned a Retreat to *Staniſlaus*, in the Duchy of *Deux-Ponts*, and allowed him the Revenues of that Province, which amounted to ſeventy thouſand Crowns. He could never conſent to ſee that Prince ſtrip'd of his Title, though by no means anſwerable to the advantageous Conditions he might have obtain'd from *Auguſtus*.

Charles flatter'd himſelf, that he ſhould ſtill reſtore the Terror of his Name. The fine Provinces, conquer'd by his Anceſtors, and then ravag'd or poſſeſs'd by his Enemies, could not bring down his Courage one ſingle inſtant. And though threaten'd that he ſhould ſoon ſee the *Danes*, the *Muſcovites*, the *Saxons*, the *Pruſſians*, and the *Engliſh*, in the Heart of his Dominions, like another *Hannibal* he fought to carry the War into the Boſom of his Enemies.

1716. Charles XII. marches into Norway, at the Head of an Army.

The Storm grew black over *Norway*. *Charles*, at the Head of twenty thouſand Men, march'd into this Kingdom, without any Obſtacle. All *Europe* was ſurpriz'd at the Inactivity of the Czar, who had agreed with his Allies to make a Deſcent into *Sweden*; but ſome ſecret Motives had diverted his Views another way. He, who had been the King of *Poland*'s Ally, was now become his cruel Enemy, and the Hand which had given the Crown to *Auguſtus*, was now going to wreſt it from him, in favour of *Staniſlaus*. It may not be amiſs to lay open the Cauſe of this ſurprizing Reſolution.

Baron *Gortz* was then the Confident of the King of *Sweden*, who had before been Miniſter to the Duke of *Holſtein*. This Man, who was by Nature bold, enterprizing, and inſinuating, and

and had long been a Projector of great Designs, was, in a manner, born to be the Minister of such a King as *Charles* the Twelfth, seeing this Prince, in the present Circumstances, ready to be oppress'd by a Number of Enemies, whom his Glory and Misfortunes had raised, he ventur'd to lay a Scheme for changing the Face of *Europe*.

This able Minister got early Notice of the secret Discontent of the Czar, who was passionately bent upon getting some footing in *Germany*. *Gortz* proposed to the Czar, to enter into a League with *Sweden*; to restore *Stanislaus* to the Throne; to take the Crown of *England* from the Elector of *Hanover*, and give it to the Heir of the *Stuarts*, and to reinstate the Duke of *Holstein* in his Dominions. He made the Glory and Interest of the Czar concerned in these Revolutions, and offer'd, in the Name of his Master, to give up to *Muscovy* the *Swedish* Provinces he had conquer'd, and to prevail upon the Duke of *Holstein*, to sell him his Dominions. *Baron Gort's Project.*

The Czar reliſh'd these Propositions of *Charles* the Twelfth's Minister, and prepar'd to set all *Europe* in a Flame, whilst *Gortz* talk'd of nothing but Peace in *Holland*, where he then was. He thought his Designs had been cover'd with an impenetrable Secrecy; but the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, had got an Insight into his Intrigues, by means of his Spies, which he had in all the Courts of *Europe*. The King of *England*, inform'd of what was contriving against him, took up Count *Gyllembourg*, the King of *Sweden*'s Ambassador at his Court, and the States General likewise seiz'd upon *Gortz* at the *Hague*. *Gortz taken up at the Hague.*

Gortz's Prison, who was soon set at Liberty, as well as *Gyllembourg*, did only incense him to pursue his Project. By his Advice, the Czar, who took a Journey into *France* for his own Instruction

ſtruction, propos'd to the Duke of *Orleans* to be the Mediator of Peace between *Sweden* and *Muſcovy*, and to make an Alliance offenſive and defenſive with thoſe two Crowns and *Spain*.

The Regent of *France* could be by no means brought to engage in ſuch a Scheme. He hated Cardinal *Alberoni*, who was then the firſt Miniſter in *Spain*, and join'd with the King of *England* and the Emperor, to oppoſe his Ambition.

In this Interval, *Gortz* ſettled the Affairs of the Treaſury in *Sweden*, which he had found in the loweſt Condition; and having taken the beſt Care of them, which Circumſtances would then admit of, he ſpeedily ſet about executing the Plan which he had projected.

Whilſt this Miniſter of *Charles* XII. was, as one may ſay, diſpoſing of the Eſtates of *Europe* with the Miniſter of the Czar, his Maſter's Arms made *Norway* tremble. He had laid Siege to *Fridericksball*, a ſtrong Town, ſituate on the Mouth of the River *Tiſtendall*. The Conqueſt of this Place open'd him the reſt of the Kingdom, and thus he preſs'd the Siege with all the Vigour he was capable of. The Engineers had aſſur'd him, the Place could not hold out ten Days, when this Prince was killed by a Cannon-Ball, which ſhot him through the Head, as he was viewing the Trenches.

Octob. 10. 1718.

The Siege of Fridericksball.

The Death of Charles XII.

The Death of this Monarch broke all the Deſigns of the Czar, deliver'd the King of *Poland* from the Fears of a Revolution, which his Miniſter *Fleming*, a Man of great Depth and Penetration, had foreſeen, and left the *Swedes* at Liberty to execute upon Baron *Gortz*, the Hatred which the Nation bore him.

Auguſtus began to be ſecure from any Apprehenſions from abroad; but he was ſtill kept in Uneaſineſs, from Commotions at home. The

eternal

ternal Diets of the *Poles* gave him an exceſſive Trouble. New Suſpicions were raiſed every Day, and it ſeem'd as if he had been called again to the Throne, only to be perpetually tormented. He could not diſpoſe of any Offices to the Strangers, who had done him Service, but the *Poles* murmur'd at his Gratitude. They expreſs'd their ill Will towards him upon many Occaſions, but more eſpecially in the Affair of *Courland.*

The Inclinations of the *Courlanders* had raiſed Count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the natural Son of King *Auguſtus*, by the Counteſs of *Koningsmar*, to the Sovereignty of that Duchy. All *Poland* in general accuſed the King of favouring the Election of his Son, and he was obliged to make him lay aſide the Thoughts of his Advancement. Nor was this all the Diſſatisfaction which *Auguſtus* experienc'd from a People, who were jealous of the leaſt Shadow of their Liberty; but theſe Particulars do not fall within the Compaſs of our Deſign. *The Affair of Courland.*

This Prince, the moſt illuſtrious Example of the different Extremes of Fortune, died on the firſt of *February*, 1733, about ſixty-three Years old. He was the Son of *John George* III. Elector of *Saxony*, of the *Albertine* Branch; and *Anna Sophia*, the Daughter of *Frederic* III. King of *Denmark*. He married *Chriſtina Everhardina* of *Brandenbourg-Bareith*, and ſucceeded, in 1697, his Brother *John George* IV. who died without Iſſue. Three Years after, being choſen King of *Poland*, he ſaw himſelf forc'd to give up the Crown to *Staniſlaus*, who was afterwards obliged to return it back into his Hand. 1733. *Auguſtus dies.*

This Prince, dreaded in *Poland*, and ador'd in *Saxony*, was like the *Roman* Emperor, whoſe Name he bore, polite, affable and obliging; he lov'd *His Character.*

lov'd and protected Arts and Sciences. But like *Auguſtus*, he was better qualified to make his People taſte the Pleaſures of Peace, than to procure them Glory by the Succeſs of his Arms. Cautious, and even fearful in Proſperity, he bore the greateſt Shocks of Adverſity with Reſolution. Full of Clemency and Moderation, he regain'd the Throne only to pardon his moſt mortal Enemies. Inſtructed by Misfortunes, after his ſecond coming to the Crown, he ſo far complied with the Temper of a jealous Republic, as to remove his deareſt Friends from the Preferments he had given them. He deſerv'd the Love of the *Poles*, and had only their Indifference, or Hatred.

Staniſlaus choſen again. Upon the Time fixed for the Election of a King, after his Deceaſe, the *Poliſh* Nobility aſſembled, and repeated their Suffrages in favour of King *Staniſlaus*; but he found, in the Emperor and the Czarina, an Obſtacle to prevent his peaceable aſcending the Throne that is due to his Virtues, and in the Son of his old Rival a new Competitor, whoſe Fate is not yet decided.

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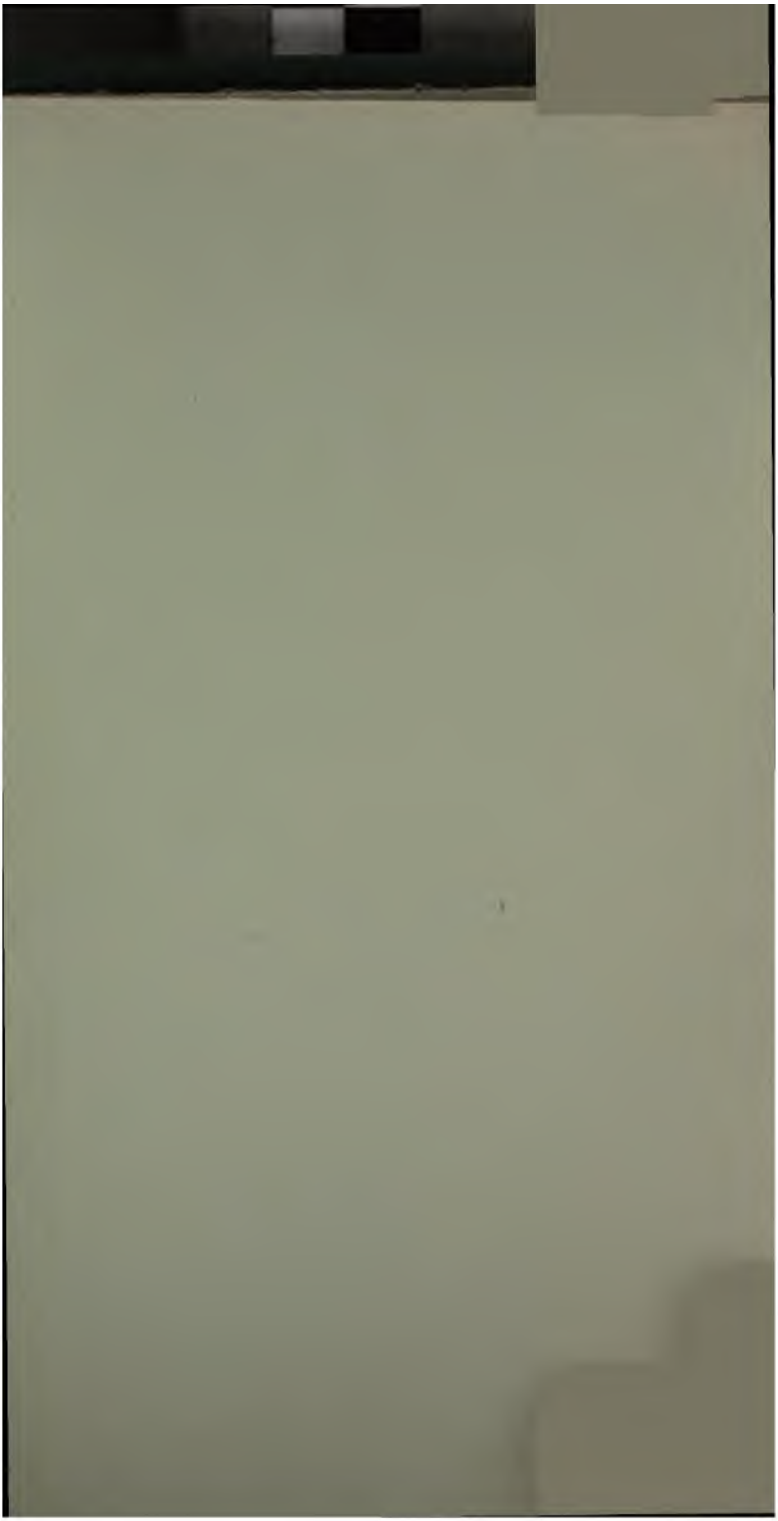
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